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REVIEW.—DR. HODGKIN'S INQUIRY.

An Inquiry into the merits of the American Colonization Society: and a reply to the charges brought against it. With an account of the British African Colonization Society. By Thomas Hodgkin, M. D. 8vo. pp. 62: London, 1833.

THE work bearing the above title, is the testimony of an acute and candid observer to the merits of the American Colonization Society. With laudable industry the author has availed himself of all the materials within his reach, capable of affording authentic information as to the objects of the Institution, and the history of the Colony established under its auspices. The result of Dr. HODGKIN'S investigation is, as might have been expected under such circumstances from so enlightened an inquirer, a judgment highly favorable to the Society and to the great cause of African Colonization.

After some interesting references to the early history of Colonization, Dr. HODGKIN proceeds to refute two of the prominent objections taken against the Society:

The preceding facts clearly prove that the colonization of the people of colour is not to be regarded, as some have urged, as a slaveholder's scheme: it cannot even be admitted, without injustice, that the patronage which the Colonization Society receives from the inhabitants of slave States, and even from the owners of slaves, is any blot upon its character, or any proof of the erroneousness of its principle. Many of the citizens of these States are to be pitied, rather than blamed, for belonging to the class of slaveholders.—They very sensibly feel the evils of slavery; but are either prevented by law from manumitting their slaves, or are opposed by difficulties which amount to a prohibition. If they liberate their blacks, and send them to a State in which slavery has been abolished, they may be congratulated by their British friends that they have washed their hands of the guilt of slavery; but, comparatively, in few instances can they console themselves with the idea that they have improved the condition of their former slaves; for, on reaching the free State, to which, at a heavy expense, they may have been conveyed, they will find themselves belonging to a class of society generally occupied in the most menial and unproductive offices, and already sufficiently numerous to render even employment of this kind not always attainable. They are, therefore, not merely in a miserable condition themselves, but they contribute to increase the misery of the class to which they belong. This is an evil which we must not wholly attribute to the distinction of colour, and the prejudice which attends it. Something of the same kind may be seen and felt even in this country, when a large emigration from the sister island has glutted the labour market.

The philanthropic citizens of the South, who either feel or witness the difficulties in the way of manumission, may be very reasonably expected to become conspicuous as supporters of a plan calculated not only to cooperate with their own benevolence, but to re-

lieve themselves: they are not, however, the sole supporters, any more than they were the sole inventors of the colonization system. This is shown by the number of auxiliary societies existing in the free States, and by the sums of money which these societies, and individuals in the same States, have contributed to the support of African colonization.—Some of those individuals, whose personal exertions have been among the most important elements of the Society's success, have been citizens of these States.

It has been objected by the enemies of the Colonization Society, that it has been exhibited to the friends of humanity in this country under a false character, very different from that which it possesses in America;—that whilst it is advocated, on this side the Atlantic, as the means of benefiting the blacks, and promoting the ultimate extinction of slavery, no such idea is expressed in its fundamental principle; but that, on the contrary, it advocates an opposite doctrine.

In support of the first assertion, they quote, from the minutes of the formation of the Society, the declaration, that "its single object is the colonization of the free people of colour, *with their consent*, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient." I conceive that the founders of the Society are entitled to praise, rather than censure, for having given so brief, and, at the same time, so comprehensive a definition of their object. It sets forth explicitly abundant work for any Society to undertake, without advancing any thing which can come in collision with the expressed or even secret opinions of any parties or individuals, unless it be of those who believe that the well-being of the blacks will be promoted in proportion to the increase of their numbers within the States—a doctrine which appears to have originated since the formation of the Colonization Society. The fundamental principle of the Colonization Society may be compared with that of the Bible Society, when it avows its object to be the diffusion of the pure text of the Old and New Testaments, without note or comment—an object to which none could be opposed who were not hostile to the Bible. It cannot, however, be supposed that the supporters of the Bible Society merely contemplated the scattering of Bibles and Testaments, from which no other effect was to proceed than the mere occupation of space: they looked forward to their becoming the powerful agents of an enlightening and moralizing influence. But if we interrogate the members of that Society individually, we shall probably find, that, besides the one object in which they all cordially unite, there are other inducements, differing in each, and which could not be brought forward without their again becoming, as they already too often have done, the subjects of schismatic convulsion and violent dispute. If, however, we wish to gain information respecting the results which the Colonization Society is supposed to regard as rendering its avowed object desirable, we cannot look to a better quarter for information than to the publications of the Society itself. In fact, we have our opponents' example in support of this measure; since, although they admit no good which cannot be found distinctly indicated in the brief declaration of its object which I have before quoted, they have been very industrious in selecting causes of complaint founded on detached portions of addresses and speeches, some of which must be admitted as blemishes; while others lose their apparent deformity, when viewed in conjunction with the parts to which they belong. I shall therefore cite some passages which indicate the feelings and objects either of the Colonization Society collectively, or of individuals of acknowledged weight and influence in it.

Their principal motive appears to have been to benefit the coloured population; and more especially that portion of it, which, though not literally loaded with servile chains, is nevertheless suffering from the pains of slavery, and, with but few exceptions, reduced to a miserable and degraded rank in society, and for whose assistance many comparatively unsuccessful efforts had previously been made. At the same time, the founders of the Society were fully sensible that the baneful influence of slavery was by no means limited to these objects of their care, but that it was also generally felt by the great mass of the white population. There was, therefore, a combined motive of benevolence and self interest: but I think we must do the projectors of the Colonization Society the justice to admit, that benevolence was their primary and principal motive: whilst the latter was rather prospective, and urged in support of their claims on the co-operation of their fellow-citizens in carrying their objects into effect.—p. 5-7.

The views presented in the foregoing extracts, are sustained by a series of citations made from the publications of the Society, and showing that the objects avowed by it, at its origin, have been adhered to at every stage of its progress. By a similar process our author shows the zeal, consistency and efficiency of the Society, in its endeavours to prostrate that curse of humanity—the African slave trade. He then examines an objection to the Society, on which great stress has been laid by its opponents, in both this country and Great Britain:—

It has been represented in this country, that the American Colonization Society aims at nothing less than the banishment of the free people of colour from the United States; although this is disclaimed and disproved, as I shall hereafter make evident. The Socia-

ty is accused of having been accessory to the enactment of those oppressive and unjust laws, by which the codes of some of the States are disfigured. William Lloyd Garrison, after enumerating some of these acts, such as the banishment of the coloured inhabitants of Ohio—the prohibition of instruction, even in Sunday schools, by Louisiana (which makes the second commission of this offence capital)—the banishment of free negroes, by Virginia, under pain of being sold as slaves—the law passed by the same State, that all emancipated slaves who should remain more than twelve months, contrary to the law, should revert to the executors as assets—those of Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every free person of colour who should come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessel belonging to the non-slave-holding States—those of Tennessee, forbidding free blacks coming into the State to stay more than twenty days; and prohibiting manumission, without immediate removal from the State—those of Maryland, forbidding any free black to settle in that State; and making it unlawful for free blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless the preacher be white—"all these proscriptive measures," says Lloyd Garrison, "and others less conspicuous, but equally oppressive, which are not only flagrant violations of the Constitution of the United States, but in the highest degree disgraceful and inhuman, are resorted to (to borrow the language of the Secretary, in his Fifteenth Annual Report), for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the Colonization Society." I confess I was amazed at this quotation; and anxiously turned to the Report, to discover if it afforded any explanation of such extraordinary language. Neither the words in question, nor any paraphrase of them, is to be found in that Report; but in a short paragraph prefixed to it, I find the words pointed out by Lloyd Garrison, as a quotation, but without having the most distant connection with the obnoxious Acts which Lloyd Garrison enumerates; those Acts not being even mentioned or hinted at. I will not apply any epithet to this mode of employing a quotation; but I must beg the reader to keep this specimen in mind, when he may meet with other quotations which appear to be at variance with the principles and practice of the Society. The Colonization Society, so far from being an accessory, or in any manner concerned with the passing of the oppressive Acts above mentioned, has distinctly reprobated them, in its publications. Its adversaries have not even the semblance of foundation for the charge. The accusation of William Lloyd Garrison oars a striking parallel to that which the Wolf is fabled to have made against the Lamb. The Acts alluded to were, in part, passed before the existence of the Colonization Society; and with regard to others, its position is below them in the stream of events, whilst it endeavours to relieve those who are the victims of their operation. The real cause of the passing of the oppressive Acts in question, and others of a similar character, is, I conceive, to be traced, as a natural and lamentable consequence, to the iniquitous system of slavery itself. The bond and the free will inevitably be struggling against each other with mutual aggressions; and the utmost caution and prudence are required on the part of those who are labouring in the good work of destroying that system, lest, in the mean time, they should so excite the feelings of both parties, as to multiply those aggressions, by which the weaker will, of course, be the greater sufferers.—p. 11-12.

The exposure made in the foregoing passage of Mr. Garrison's misrepresentation of the Colonization Society, is not the only instance of controversial dishonesty which Dr. Hodgkin brings home to that individual.—"The following passage," says Dr. H. "is ascribed to the review on Colonization in the Christian Spectator for September, 1830:"—

"For the existence of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society. The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. There is neither chapter nor verse of Holy Writ, which lends any countenance to the fulminating spirit of universal emancipation, of which some exhibitions may be seen in some of the newspapers." p. 63. But it is replied, in another number of the same Journal: "Now we utterly deny and abjure the authorship of such a paragraph. The fact is, that these three sentences, thus strung together, and with the meaning which they necessarily convey to the reader, whose first sight of them is in this connection, never before appeared in the Christian Spectator. It is true, indeed, that each one of the three sentences, which Mr. Garrison has thus arranged as in a connected train of thought, does actually occur in the article referred to; but they occur in such connections, and are applied, in the course of the argument, to such uses as must very materially modify their meaning in the mind of every candid reader. The word 'existence' was marked as emphatic; and our object was, as appears from the very next page, while conceding to the advocates of slavery the matter of a favourite plea in its defence, to throw upon the consciences of the present generation of citizens in the slave-holding States the responsibility of reforming this constitution of society, or of continuing it, and transmitting it, with all its curses, to posterity. We did indeed say, in another paragraph, 'The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery;' but we need not say that the stress of the sentence obviously rested on the word *explicit*. We added a still greater concession to the advocate of slavery, and one that we marvel that Mr. Garrison has not wrested

to some of his purposes:—"It (the Bible) recognises, both in the Old Testament and the New, the existence of such a constitution of Society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution." But what else said we of the relations of Christianity to slavery? How far did we permit our concessions to be carried? Did we 'go the whole' in defence of slavery, as, in our author's manner of quotation, we seem to have done? 'The advocates of slavery,' we said, 'take it for granted, that because Christianity recognises such a state of society, and enforces the mutual duties arising therefrom, it sanctions slavery itself: this is a great and palpable error. The New Testament contains no *express* prohibition of polygamy. Is polygamy therefore consistent with Christianity? Christianity is always the antagonist principle of slavery.' Is Mr. Garrison's quotation an impartial exhibition of our doctrine?" Those who denounce the Colonization Society on account of the concessions which it has made to the feelings and prejudices of slaveholders, should recollect that our own most ardent and devoted advocates for the cause of the blacks adopted precisely the same policy. Neither Wilberforce nor Clarkson, complicated their strenuous and ultimately triumphant efforts for the abolition of the slave trade with the question of the abolition of slavery; and even those who have recently been the most powerful advocates of immediate and universal emancipation once admitted the expediency of a more gradual course. I wish they would call to mind their own past experience; and encourage their brethren, the philanthropists of America, in the good which they are already doing, rather than attempt to crush them; because, for the present, they are opposed by difficulties which prevent their effecting more.—p. 22-23.

Again: The late lamented Mr. CALDWELL, in one of his Colonization speeches, held the following language concerning the coloured population of the United States:—

"The more you improve the condition of the people—the more you cultivate their minds—the more miserable you make them, in their present state: you give them a higher relish for those privileges which they cannot attain, and turn what you intend for a blessing into a curse. No; if they remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines; to cry 'peace and contentment' to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty! They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be among the foremost to extend it to others."

The latter part of this paragraph has been most unfairly suppressed, and the former adduced, by W. L. Garrison, in order to convict that benevolent individual of a "monstrous sentiment," and to prove that "the American Colonization Society advocates, and to a great extent perpetuates, the ignorance and degradation of the coloured population of the United States."—p. 31.

Dr. HODGKIN might, had he been so pleased, have constituted a pamphlet larger than his present work, entirely out of instances of falsification, on the part of Mr. GARRISON and his associates, similar to those which he has exposed. But these are amply sufficient to show that any degree of consideration with which Mr. G. has been or may hereafter be treated by his antagonists, must proceed from respect, not to him, but to themselves. Faithful, however, to his amiable motto, "*cupio me esse clementem*," Dr. HODGKIN contents himself with merely exhibiting Mr. Garrison's fraudulent practices, leaving the reader to give them the reprehension which they deserve at the hand of every honest man. The merits and demerits of a cause are one thing,—the mode of defending it is another. Were the Colonization Society as nefarious an association as Mr. G. avows it to be, it would nevertheless be entitled to justice at his hands. It is his obvious duty, in quoting from its publications, to quote fairly; and by trampling on this obvious duty as he habitually does, he only prompts the public mind to transfer to himself the reprobation which he has attempted to fix on the objects of his calumny. His misrepresentations of the kind alluded to, have had the effect natural to a course at once weak and wicked—that of producing a general distrust of all his statements. An impartial man no more thinks now of resorting to Mr. G.'s writings for information about the Colonization Society, than he would to an almanac to ascertain the changes of the weather.

The extract which we shall now make from Dr. Hodgkin's work, begins with a proposition, exhibiting in a single striking sentence, a whole volume of argument:—

It is worthy of remark, that, with all the concessions which the Colonization Society has made in favour of the present legal prerogatives of slaveholders, the only right of the master, for which they contend, is that of liberty to emancipate his slaves. It is stated in the Fourteenth Report, 1831, p. 25: "The accomplishment of our object *will secure to every proprietor of slaves an opportunity, if he thinks proper, to exercise the right of disposing of his property as he pleases; a right for which we all strenuously contend, but which none of us possess.*" R. R. Gurley, in his admirable Essay, published in the Appendix of the same Report, p. 28, observes: "*It is the success of the Society, it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders, that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. Voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of colonization; and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing, in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise, without restraint, the purest and the noblest feelings of our nature. These strenuous assertors of the right to judge for themselves, in regard to their domestic policy, are alarmed at a state of things which secures the same right to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired, unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves, for the purpose of colonization, shall be denied to the master? Do they feel, that, in this country and this age, the influences of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful? and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines? If so, their defeat is inevitable.*"

Our opponents endeavour to represent the Colonization Society as hostile to the people of colour, whom it has unjustly stigmatized and libelled. I believe that the Colonization Society, in its description of this class, has stated what it conceived to be strictly true.—It was necessary that it should point out their deplorable and almost hopeless condition, when it appealed to benevolence for their relief: it was necessary that it should exhibit the reflected evils which recoil from this class upon those around them, when it wished to arouse the apathetic and selfish. In the Society's description of the general state of the free people of colour—to which, however, it admits with pleasure the existence of some bright exceptions—I see nothing but the natural consequences of the iniquitous system of slavery. In fact, a different state of things would have been a refutation of much that has been ably and excellently advanced by the Abolitionists themselves. The report of the degraded and demoralized condition of the majority of the free people of colour has been confirmed to me by every traveller who has visited America with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing on the subject.—p. 23-24.

Of the authorities adduced by Dr. H. in support of the foregoing remarks, we have room for only one. It is the following, taken from the Christian Examiner for January, 1833:

"Even in those parts which are denominated *free States*, the coloured *free* people are by no means exempt from the effects of the most unjustifiable prejudices; for, whether at home or abroad, in public places of amusement or in the sanctuary of the Lord, they are alike the subjects of scorn and contempt! As an illustration of their degraded condition, even in such cities as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, it is only necessary to state, that a *white barber would think himself grossly insulted were a coloured person, however respectable in Society, to enter his shop for the purpose of getting shaved!*"

This last quotation deserves particular attention. It is from the pen of Nathaniel Paul, himself a man of colour. From this quotation, as well as from other sources, we may learn the indisputable, but important and lamentable fact, that the degraded and oppressed condition of the free people of colour is by no means confined to the slave-holding States. I would particularly press this fact on the consideration of those who oppose the views of the Colonization Society, whilst they defend the measures of the Anti-Slavery Society.—p. 25-26.

The following additional observations on the condition of the people of colour in the U. States, occur in a subsequent part of the pamphlet:

It is a lamentable fact, which, however contradicted by our opponents, is confirmed by impartial testimony, that exalted piety is no protection against the deep-rooted prejudice which has strongly possessed itself of the minds of the Americans generally; not even excepting those who are conspicuous as the advocates of religion, and who are, perhaps, justly esteemed as adorning the doctrine which they profess. Is it not notorious, that the people of colour either perform their religious devotions in entirely separate companies; or, if they meet in the same buildings with whites, are obliged to keep themselves to a distinct and peculiar situation in them? With the exception of some, who have visited America from Liberia, I have not been able to hear of more than one or two instances of

coloured persons, whatever may have been their virtue and piety, being admitted into the private society of their white brethren, on terms which evinced that even in their individual character they were exempt from the degrading prejudice under which the mass of their coloured countrymen are oppressed. For my own part, whilst I execrate this prejudice, I feel that there is as much cause to pity as to blame many of those whose conduct is influenced by it: and I may add, that I firmly believe that the Colonization Society, though it may appear in the first instance to yield to the prejudice which it cannot immediately destroy, is really preparing the death-blow for it, when it completely removes those who have been its victims from the sphere of its influence, to prepare them to re-appear in the field under new auspices.

If Christianity does not directly liberate the coloured man in America from the degradation which oppresses him, can it be surprising that property and personal accomplishments also fail? An accomplished and distinguished American physician, from an enlightened and liberal State, informed me that he had several coloured families amongst the respectable and profitable class of his patients. He had no feeling of unkindness towards them, or complaint to make against them; yet he told me, that in society they were completely excluded from the rest of the community.—p. 29.

For all purposes of practical benefit to the coloured population of the U. States, it is less important to inquire whether the prejudice there prevailing against them, be, or be not, "execrable," than to determine, its existence and strength being conceded, on the best mode of rescuing them from its effects. Such a mode, we firmly think, has been devised by the Colonization Society, in offering to convey such free coloured persons as wish to be so conveyed, to a region where this "prejudice," whether justly execrable or not, is unknown. And here it seems obvious, that every proof furnished by the Anti-Colonizationists of the extent, and, to use their own word, "rancour" of this prejudice in the U. States, is a fresh argument in favour of removing the objects of it beyond the sphere of its operation. If it be difficult to reason men out of a "prejudice," denunciation and abuse are instruments still less effectual. When the Anti-Slavery party, as they style themselves, shall set the example of intermarrying with the blacks, there will be some reason for believing that their asserted horror at this "prejudice" is sincere; but while no such evidence is furnished, and especially since their late solemn disclaimer, as of an imputed crime, of any matrimonial designs on their coloured brethren and sisters, the conclusion is inevitable that they disbelieve, like their adversaries, in the possibility of a physical amalgamation, and consequently of a social and political equality between the two races. The intelligent writer in the *Christian Mirror*, whose article will be found in another part of this number, has demonstrated that the condition of the free coloured people in this country, even under the most favourable circumstances, is one of degradation; and that it is made so by causes as permanent as their continuance among us. Now, has any scheme, save that of Colonization, for elevating the condition of these unfortunate persons been yet devised, that any candid and informed mind can deem practicable? And when the consequences of the Abolition projects to the Federal Union, and to the safety of its citizens are considered, can the most ingenious charity find a better excuse for their projector, than in bottomless ignorance and unteachable fanaticism?

Among the misrepresentations noticed by Dr. HODGKIN, is the celebrated one of a passage in a speech delivered by the Hon. WILLIAM S. ARCHER, a high-minded and distinguished Virginian, in the year 1832. We subjoin the obnoxious passage with the commentary of our author:—

"If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant; first, to the occasions of profitable employment, and, as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners; fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then to the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners, in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had

been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as, among the Spartans, with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and, if they could, how? There was but one way;—but that might be made effectual, fortunately!—it was, to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment.* This might be done effectually, by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened.”—15th Report, 1832, p. 26.

The passage, after all, does not contain any thing so very atrocious. The principle which it expresses is by no means essentially connected with slavery, but might be applied to the laborious classes in every state of society, whether bond or free. It is the principle upon which the most disinterested philanthropists advocate the emigration of the redundant pauper population of this country to territories where their prospects may brighten and their energies find scope. The entire speech forms an interesting document amongst the records of the Society; since it makes us acquainted with the sincere and dispassionate sentiments of a body of men whose number and influence make their opinions, whether correct or erroneous, the subject of important consideration, in conjunction with any measure affecting the state of society in which they are placed. With this view, I shall take the liberty of making some few extracts from the speech in question.—p. 27.

Dr. H. thus again adverts to an objection which he had before disposed of—

If the principal object of the Colonization Society, as its opponents insinuate, were an interested and selfish desire, on the part of the slave-owners, to drain off a redundant black population that they might increase the value and more easily hold in subjection those that remain, we should expect to find a mutual combination amongst them to effect this purpose by some general sacrifice, rather than a few individuals generously devoting their entire property in slaves for the sake of those who are really their rivals. The number of slave-owners who, notwithstanding the high price which they might obtain for their slaves, have come forward in this manner and manumitted them, or published their determination to do so as soon as the Society's means will allow them to effect their colonization, proves both that the desire to emancipate is by no means wanting amongst the calumniated citizens of the South, and that the difficulties in the way of manumission, which their adversaries seem unwilling to admit, had really been to them insuperable.

In some instances, the plea of selfishness has been more completely refuted, and the benevolent anxiety on the part of the masters to benefit their slaves exhibited by the pains which they have taken to prepare them for emigration, and even by their wholly or partially paying their expenses to the colony. A striking instance of this has been given by the benevolent Margaret Mercer; who has not only given up her patrimony in slaves, prepared them for colonization, and sent them to Liberia, but devotes her life to the arduous profession of schoolmistress, and her mansion to the purpose of a school, in order to increase her means of benefitting the Afro-American people of colour. Elizabeth Greenfield, Col. Early, and the Breckenridges, also deserve honourable mention, for similar conduct.

Dr. Aylett Hawes, of Virginia, has bequeathed freedom to about 100 slaves, and \$20 for each, to assist the Colonization Society in conveying them to Liberia.—p. 30.

The first of the subjoined paragraphs is founded in deep and true philosophy; and, coming as it does from a foreigner, is an impressive rebuke to those domestic agitators who are sporting with the Institutions and the peace of their Country—

I cannot quit this subject without offering a remark which seems to be connected with it. In fully admitting that “knowledge is power,” and that it is one of the great evils and fruits of the injustice of absolute authorities to withhold it from their subjects, it is necessary that those who are desirous to correct this state of things, and promote the diffusion of knowledge, should be circumspect and cautious as to their mode of introducing it; otherwise there is a danger of exhibiting to them all the evils of their position before they have the power to extricate themselves; lest, startled and agitated by the discovery, they make struggles injurious to themselves and those around them: as when the blinkers are taken from a horse in harness, the sudden discovery of the apparatus attached to him makes him take fright, and hurry vehicle, passengers, and himself to destruction. Into this error, the Abolitionists of America, and more especially the Editor of the “Liberator,” have, I believe, in some degree, fallen, and thereby contributed to promote the passing of oppressive laws.

It is not the end, but the means, of which I am doubtful. The energetic language of the *Liberator* has not, that I am aware, induced a single slaveholder to remove or relax his shackles: it has excited displeasure; and, instead of obtaining an attentive perusal, has raised against its author an opposition which has induced me to feel for him as a persecut-

ed individual. The fault, however, is, in part, his own. He fails in persuading the master, and is suspected of agitating the blacks, who form, as he has told us, at least two-thirds of his subscribers.

Great importance appears to be attached to the protests and remonstrances published by several congregations of free blacks in America, in opposition to the Colonization Society; but it should be remembered, that these individuals are at perfect liberty to remain where they are; that so far from having any personal acquaintance with the settlement of Liberia, to give value to their opinion, they merely re-echo the sentiments of the Editor of the *Liberator*, of whose journal they are the chief support; and, above all, it must be borne in mind, that their sentiments are directly opposed to those of the people of colour who have visited the colony, or taken pains to make themselves authentically acquainted with it. "Some of the authors of this objection, have first *persuaded* them *not to emigrate*, and then pronounced that they *will not*. Their prediction and their argument have both failed."—3d Report, 1820, p. 23.

The very favourable report of Simpson and Moore, deliberately offered to their brethren, on their return from Liberia, is so complete and important a negative to the assertions of W. Lloyd Garrison, that he has endeavoured to set it aside, as not being genuine—and, with this view, asserted the accredited authors to be ignorant individuals, unable to read and write, and consequently incompetent to have produced the report in question. This statement was made to several of my friends, by W. Lloyd Garrison himself, during his short stay in this country. By a very remarkable contingency, Anson G. Phelps, the highly respectable citizen of New York who received Simpson and Moore immediately on their landing from Liberia, happens to have been in this country since this assertion was made; and being accidentally in company with one of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, that gentleman, who also by accident became acquainted with the fact of his having so received Simpson and Moore, took the opportunity of making inquiries respecting them; and received in return, not only the assurance that they were, as the circumstance of their selection by their brethren seemed to imply, persons of good understanding and competent education, but that he had seen the journal they had kept, from the time of their leaving Natchez up to the period of their arrival at New York.—p. 32-33.

We are happy to observe that JAMES BROWN'S exposition of the misrepresentations circulated by the Anti-Colonizationists of the statements of Price and Whittington, has attracted the attention of Dr. Hodgkin. He thus refutes another charge against the Society :

The enemies of the Colonization Society have endeavoured to represent its friends as guilty of subterfuge and inconsistency, in professing a design to civilize and Christianize Africa, by means of a class whose degraded and demoralized condition it has prominently exhibited. This is a charge which appears to be substantiated by the contrasted extracts which they have given; but it is by no means the conclusion to be obtained from a fair and connected perusal of the Society's publications.

From these it is evident, that they have, in general, taken great pains in the selection of their colonists; as a proof of which, they have had no occasion for whites in any official capacity, except that of Governor and Physician. Although they consider the degraded condition of the coloured population as the result of their unfortunate position in society, rather than an inherent characteristic of their race; and that consequently, under favourable circumstances, they may both improve themselves, and be the means of improving others; especial attention has been paid to avoid sending out such a proportion of an inferior class as to compromise the well-being and character of the colony. But it has been said, we have Governor Mechlin's own letter, in proof of the bad character of the emigrants whom you style Missionaries. It appears to me, that the legitimate inference to be drawn from that letter is, that the complaint made against a particular cargo of emigrants implies the general good character of those who preceded them; and the publication of that letter by the Society is both an evidence of its candour and frankness, and a proof of its desire to avoid the occasion of such an objection in future: it must be the means of obtaining increased attention to the selection and preparation of future emigrants, by which the Society cannot fail to benefit the blacks who stay, as well as those who go.—Already some of the legal impediments to the education of negroes have been revoked, in favour of such as are destined for the coast of Africa; but it is obvious, that, of the many so educated, not a few may miss emigration, and remain in America. Again, those who are receiving instruction, as a qualification for colonization, will, in the mean time, be likely to improve those who may not be so fortunate, but with whom they may happen to have intercourse: nor need the jealousy of the enemies to negro education be excited by this indirect effect, since the knowledge so communicated, will be accompanied by a kindly rather than by a hostile feeling towards the whites.

I am surprised that the opponents of the Colonization Society should have taken offence at the designation of Africa as the native country of the negro, and affected to misunderstand its meaning. It is evident, that it merely implies that Africa is the cradle of the black race, and strictly of that particular black race which has been the victim of slavery

in the Western World; for the Colonizationists know, as well as their opponents, that there are black races in Australia and elsewhere: but when they contemplate removing the sons of Africa from a land to which, without their consent, they or their ancestors were conveyed, and in which they have had many privations, hardships, and indignities to endure, it is not surprising that Africa should present itself to their view as the most promising, and be spoken of as the mother or native country of the blacks.—p. 33-34

Though our extracts from this pamphlet have been copious, we must, in justice to Mr. CRESSON, insert Dr. HODGKIN'S valuable testimony to the character of that gentleman:

Such is my conviction of the merits of the Colonization Society, founded on a careful examination of its objects and principles, of the measures which it employs, and of the results which have given proof of its power. An attentive perusal of its valuable Reports, as well as the testimony of impartial witnesses, cannot fail, I conceive, to produce the same sentiment in the minds of others; yet I do not hesitate to assert that I am open to conviction from the opposite side, if it can be shown that, in spite of all the evidence brought before me, I have been deceived. But were it possible for such an occurrence to take place, and detach my good wishes from the Colonization Society, I should, notwithstanding, be constrained to defend a calumniated individual, whose sincere and disinterested devotion to the cause of the Society has subjected him to obloquy and persecution. But, in the full persuasion which I have avowed of the merits of the Colonization Society, and of the justice of its cause, I should feel that, had my attempt been more successful than I can flatter myself it has been, it would still be imperfectly performed were I to leave unnoticed the injury which the Colonization Society has received from this country, in the person of its representative. Private friendship, as well as public justice, urge me to this part of the work which I have undertaken; and in espousing the cause of Elliott Cresson, I feel a pleasure in holding up the generous and disinterested conduct, the indefatigable energy, and persevering zeal of that philanthropist, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements with which he has been almost constantly met. Elliott Cresson, who had visited this country many years before he came to it as the advocate of the Colonization Society, has been long known, respected, and esteemed by myself personally. For many years he has been the friend of the coloured race in America. He early became interested in the success of the Colonization Society. When the very limited funds of the infant Institution arrested its proceedings, through inability to meet the difficulties which opposed it, inasmuch that the continued existence of the Society appeared doubtful, Elliott Cresson came forward, and devoted all his energies to the cause. He made himself personally responsible for the equipment of a vessel charged with emigrants and effects for the reinforcement of the colony, then struggling for its doubtful existence: he revived the zeal of its friends; and a second and third vessel were already advanced in preparation, whilst their predecessors were hardly under weigh. The prospects of the Society rapidly brightened: the exertions of Auxiliary Societies increased its funds; from every part of the Union, donations and legacies came in; the influential members of almost every Christian community gave it the sanction of their approbation; and members of Congress publicly defended it. Elliott Cresson, instead of sitting down the delighted but inactive spectator of this prosperity, resolved to come over to this country; where he had previously endeavoured to obtain, by correspondence, friends and supporters for the Colonization Society. He came as the official organ of that Society, but took upon himself the charges of this long and unavoidably expensive mission. Instead of finding his cause generally and warmly espoused in a country which has rendered itself conspicuous by its efforts as well as its professions in favour of Africa and Africans, whom it had once been foremost to oppress, his labours were impeded, or actively opposed, by many of those very individuals who made themselves prominent as the advocates of the African cause in England, and who were consequently looked up to as guides, in conduct and opinion, in reference to this subject. He has, however, received the sanction and encouragement of some of those whose opinions are every way entitled to the greatest deference and respect. It is enough to say, that Wilberforce honoured and supported him by his friendship, and continued to avow his approbation of the Colonization Society, notwithstanding the attacks and insinuations of its adversaries, until near the period of his lamented death, when the *ex-parte* statements of those who knew the importance of his authority obtained a triumph, the achievement of which confers no honour. Elliott Cresson still retains the friendship, as his cause does the good wishes, of the venerable Clarkson, than whom no one is more competent to judge of any measures in which Africa is concerned, or more acutely sensible to every thing which can prejudice her or her injured sons. Let it not be supposed that he has abandoned the cause of Liberia, in the foundation of which he took an active part, because, at the close of an active and well-spent life, encumbered with the various infirmities of age, he does not come forward to join in discussions which could not be otherwise than painful to him, inasmuch as they would bring him into apparent collision with some of his oldest friends. Let it be enough for the foes as well as the friends of Elliott Cresson and Liberia to know, that the blessings of the venerable Clarkson rest upon both.

In the preceding pages of this defence, I have not only pointed out and endeavoured to reply to some of the objections urged against the Colonization Society, but have exhibited some of the unfair means by which this attack has been conducted. It might have been thought enough for the weight of these, and the harsh and opprobrious language by which they have been too often accompanied, to rest upon the foreigner who has visited our hospitable country. This, however, has not been the case. Unfounded personal attacks have been promulgated to annoy and defeat him. He has been accused of representing to the English, that the objects of the Colonization Society were different from those which it avows in America; yet his assertions have ever been supported by the public statements of that Society, and by the facts which he adduced. Some of the charges are so contradictory, that they convey their own refutation. Individuals have insinuated, that, instead of the great sacrifice of time and fortune which he is making, he is really a mercenary agent. I need scarcely say, that Elliott Cresson's resources and connections are too well known for this insinuation to give him any uneasiness: I merely mention it as a proof of the disposition with which he has had to contend. He has been spoken of as raising money under false pretences; and a speaker at a Meeting called for the purpose of opposing Elliott Cresson and the Colonization Society, declared that they would put a stop to Elliott Cresson's going about robbing the British public. But, I would ask, with the utmost confidence, whether any one who has contributed to the comparatively small sum which has been raised in this country for the Colonization Society, and refers to the acknowledgment of it, not only by Elliott Cresson, but by the Colonization Society itself, and reflects on the amount of good which the Managers of that Society, by their rigid economy, have been able to effect, will venture to assert, either that his contribution has been obtained from him under a false pretence, or that he would wish to recall the gift?—In a document proceeding from the Anti-Slavery's address in Aldermanbury, and which, though not sanctioned by the Society's name, has been circulated at its expense, Elliott Cresson is styled an impostor by William Lloyd Garrison, who, during his stay in this country, was ostensibly connected with the Anti-Slavery Society. To that Society Elliott Cresson was officially introduced, on his arrival in this country, as the Agent of the Colonization Society. Yet the publication of the letter containing that introduction, has in vain been called for, in answer to the libel; and application for it, for the same purpose, has been equally unsuccessful.

I must be allowed to correct another misrepresentation, which has been much insisted on and extensively disseminated by the same party. When William Lloyd Garrison arrived in this country, it was a proposal of himself and his friends, that the charges which he brought against the Colonization Society should be made the subject of a public discussion between himself and Elliott Cresson. To this, the latter was perfectly willing to accede; and it was only set aside at the recommendation of some individuals to whom the subject was referred. It was feared, that such an occasion was more likely to give rise to painful feelings, than to elicit truth. My friend, Joseph Tregelles Price, no supporter of the American Colonization Society, but an active friend of the Anti-Slavery Society, (though I am far from supposing him to be implicated in all its measures), united with myself in the negotiation of this affair, and corresponded with William Lloyd Garrison, who was distinctly informed of our reasons for setting aside the public discussion, and solicited to accede to a more private conference on the disputed points. To this proposal, William Lloyd Garrison and his friends returned an unexplained refusal.

I will not longer extend a repetition of the unmerited grievances which Elliott Cresson has had to endure. He feels, at times, that these evils are more than compensated by the satisfaction which he derives from the good work in which he is engaged. I am fully persuaded, that one day its success will bring conviction, if not regret, to his opponents; and that his name and his exertions will be permanently recorded in the grateful recollection of the Colonized American Blacks, for whom it may justly be said,

—“sine fraude ——
Liberum munivit iter daturus
plura relictis.”

In our next, will appear Dr. HODGKIN's remarks on the “*British African Colonization Society*.”

SOCIETY'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from a Clergyman in Kingston, E. Tennessee, June 20, 1834.

Enclosed I send you the sum of sixteen dollars for the use of the American Colonization Society. This sum was taken up by a collection, by my suggestion, as requested. I was directed by the Rev. Mr. Gurley, your Secretary, to forward it to you. The amount is small, and the congregation to which I preach is small; but among other benevolent Institutions, I do not wish them to forget, either in their prayers or contributions, the noble one with which you are connected.

A reverend gentleman of Centreville, Pennsylvania, in enclosing a small collection taken up on the 4th of July last, says—"The contributors discover no diminution of their love and zeal for the great and good cause of the Colonization Society. Amidst many calls for their mites, individual dividends appear small."

Letter from a Gentleman, dated Clark's Run, near Xenia, Green county, O., to the Board.

IN MY ESTEEM, TRULY HONOURED BOARD.

After thinking about you and the Colony one hundred times, I now send you my thoughts. And, first, on the farming in Liberia: and I conceive the very existence of the Colony depends on another mode of farming, than hath hitherto been attended to; the want of *beast labour* hath, and forever will (in my opinion) be the ruin of the Colony.

Introduce the labour of the patient ox, and the noble horse, and then we will have plenty of black men to farm; and to farm without the horse and ox, is only for slaves with the cow-hide behind them and not for free men. Let the Board at Washington send a man qualified to superintend the farming, and zealous for the welfare of the Colony, with a small salary, and to do no other business; let this man have a large farm to superintend, to show the colonists what a farmer can do; but he must be furnished with horses, ploughs, wagons and ox-carts. Secondly;—How can buildings be raised without cattle to bring the materials? Gov. Pinney's account of the new settlers in the Colony, shows the deplorable situation of the Colony for want of *beast labour*. Likewise there is a vast superiority in the standing the drought, of grain, of any kind, put in by the plough, over that put in by the hoe. Let me know whether horses could be with propriety imported into Liberia from this country? To a man that hath been starved all his days, and perhaps never had his belly filled, the prospect of having plenty to eat, is alone even *liberty* itself to the man. If an overstock of provisions was raised in Liberia, there would be plenty of emigrants to go there.

Had Liberia been furnished with but one farm and four horses at the commencement, improvements might perhaps by this time have reached the centre of Africa, and their warlike implements and swords might have now been converted into plough-shares and pruning-hooks. Before this time a good team of horses and a wagon in Liberia would be for conversation, like the Landers ascending the Niger with their steam-boats. Think what Washington City itself would be without the gallant horse!—I have two sons that farm: with their leave, I will send you the best horse for work in my team, if you think proper to adopt my plan of farming in the Colony.

The next observation I shall make is, that you give the slaveholders a hint in the African Repository, that those of them that intend sending

their slaves to Liberia, either keep them six months longer and pay them, or hire them out for money, and then every man able to work, could pay his own passage to Liberia: and I have no idea of sending men to the Colony that will not work if they are able. There is many a tender-hearted man owning slaves that will never set his slaves free to earn or raise their bread with the hoe; a new, and in many cases, a worse species of slavery than they are now under. Liberia is of little use to men if they want the means of independence. In Africa there are plenty of asses, why are they not introduced into the Colony? They are beasts of burden, and where no horses are, they are a good substitute to ride. It gives one pain to think of *Ashmun* and all those noble men that have fallen a sacrifice for the Colony. Their labour was doubled for want of a horse to ride. A Governor without a horse to ride! the very idea is disgracing, and still more so among black men that have lived among large slaveholders.

Perhaps the Colonization scheme is the best human system that ever was contrived on earth. By your leave and aid (if I was younger, but am now too old) I would go to the Colony to give it a new existence in introducing beast labour; and the farming if rightly followed, would yield a plentiful reward.

I am something of an enthusiast in the Colonization cause, and would beg you to give an Old Scotchman's plan a candid investigation, and excuse his plain, rude manner. The Liberia cider mill has gained \$4 for the cause this season, which I will pay to our Treasurer. I truly respect and love you all, and hope and pray that God may give you wisdom in all your deliberations.

Extract of a Letter dated Pittsburg, August 4, 1834.

Enclosed you have a draft for twenty-one dollars and four cents, the amount of a collection taken up on the Sabbath succeeding the 4th ultimo, in the *Third Presbyterian Church* in this city, of which I am Pastor, in aid of the American Colonization Society. This is the first year of its organization; and very heavy responsibilities in the rearing of a very spacious edifice, have prevented the sum from being larger at this time.

Letter dated Congruity, (Pa.) July 14, 1834.

The enclosed ten dollars was collected on the 6th inst. in the Presbyterian congregation of Congruity, Westmoreland county, Pa. for your Society. The sum collected was eleven dollars and fifty-five cents. The balance I shall pay over to the New Alexandria Auxiliary Society. But as the Treasurer of that Auxiliary will have no other funds to transmit for six weeks or two months, and as the wants of the Parent Society are pressing, I thought it best to forward immediately as much as could be sent by mail. The collection would have been larger, but that many of my people are members of the aforesaid Auxiliary and expect soon to be called upon for their annual subscription.

May the smiles of a benignant Providence rest upon the Society and make it a blessing alike to America and Africa.

Extract of a Letter dated Columbus, Mississippi, July 23, 1834.

Enclosed you will please find seventy dollars in U. S. paper, which is for the use of the American Colonization Society.

I have been in the habit for some years of making (individually) a small contribution; but this year I have used my influence with some of my neigh-

bours and friends, and have got the above amount, and think I will yet get a little more—say one hundred dollars. I then design proposing to them the forming a little Society, and subscribing on the plan of Gerrit Smith.

Letter from a Reverend Gentleman, dated Fishkill, Dutchess county, N. Y. July 21, 1834.

Enclosed you will receive seventeen dollars, the amount of a collection taken in the Reformed Dutch Church of Hopewell, in aid of the Colonization Society. I am happy to discover that the efforts of the Abolitionists are producing a reaction in favour of your Institution. The people of this district of country, recoil with indignation from the unnatural designs of those who advocate the promiscuous intercourse of colours; and the effects in the city clearly evince, that the influence of the abolition measures is cruelty to the poor blacks, instead of benevolence. I regard the Colonization Society as offering all the inducements to emancipation, which the warmest friend of liberty could offer; but beside this offering, a home to the liberated captive where he may rise to all the dignity and enjoyment of civilization and Christianity. The Lord grant the American Colonization Society His richest blessing.

Letter dated Lewistown, Mifflin county, Pa. July 29, 1834.

After divine service held in the Methodist Episcopal Church, on the 4th inst. I presented to the congregation the very powerful claims of the American Colonization Society; and although the sentiments of the abolition party have some influence here, we nevertheless received pleasing assurances of the fact, that the American Colonization Society is founded upon principles of extended benevolence, and entitled to the liberal regards and sympathies of American Patriots and Christians.

The collection amounted to fifteen dollars and twenty-five cents.—(\$15 25.) I send herewith enclosed the sum of fifteen dollars, in aid of the funds of the Society, and apply the remaining twenty-five cents in part payment for the postage of this communication.

Letter dated Alexandria, Huntingdon county, Pa. August 4th, 1834.

I send you the enclosed \$10, the amount of a collection taken a few weeks since, in my church, for the aid of the cause of Colonization.—That cause should be dear to the heart of every friend of injured Africa and of her race. I hope the Lord will grant it His propitious smiles, and cause it to triumph over the assaults of its misguided and fanatic opposers, the Abolitionists. I trust they mean well, but they are certainly, in my humble opinion, greatly mistaken as to the propriety of their measures. They are urging our country to a fearful crisis. May a gracious Heaven preserve us all from the dreadful shock which must ensue if these wild and enthusiastic measures are carried much further.

Letter dated Baton Rouge, 7th of August, 1834.

The Presbyterian Church in this place is small. Only three male members. Mr. Hutchison, who formerly preached for us, left the place some eight or ten months ago; since which time, we have had no preacher of our church. Mr. Chesnut, a Congregationalist, has occasionally visited us.—In consequence of the increased anxiety of the congregation for the success and prosperity of the Colonization Society, and in compliance with a resolution of the General Assembly, we, for the first time, have taken a collection for that purpose.

We have collected twenty dollars, which please receive and appropriate according to the wishes of the donors.

Letter dated Cross Roads, Washington county, Pa. Aug. 15, 1834

Enclosed you have \$35 collected from the Roads Presbyterian congregation, for the Colonization Society; this amount, though small, has exceeded our former contributions—which, I believe, has been the result of unjustifiable opposition made by a few Abolitionists to the Colonization Society here.

Extract of a Letter dated Fairfield, N. J. 18th August, 1834.

The enclosed \$12, was taken up in the congregation (of which I am Pastor) on the Sabbath succeeding the 4th of July, to aid the Colonization Society in their benevolent operations. We are pleased with the prudent and Christian principles on which the proceedings of your Society are conducted; and which, so far as I know, are almost unanimously approved of by the people in these parts. No Abolitionists here.

We are sorry to hear of some things unfavorable to the prosperity of the Colony; but glad to learn that you are likely to surmount the obstacles which seemed to retard the progress of the Colony. And I pray that God would more abundantly prosper the benevolent operations of your Society, and make them a blessing to our Republic, to the Colony, and to the unknown millions of human beings in Africa.

Extract of a Letter dated Pitts Grove, Salem county, N. J. August 19, 1834.

Enclosed is a ten dollar bill, the avails of a collection taken in our church on the 10th inst. I regret that circumstances arose that day to diminish our numbers, and consequently our contribution. But in a few weeks I hope to forward the first fruits of an effort to form a Female Auxiliary Society here, which as yet, is not quite organized.

Your ably conducted Repository, brings constant and accumulating testimony of the paramount importance of this glorious effort.

“Secto corpore fortior,”

may be now the honourable motto of the American Colonization Society. It has, during the past year, proved itself worthy of the times. It has foiled “Jannes and Jambres” in many a well contested debate; has patiently endured the contradictions of those fanatics; has enlisted new affections, new hearts, and new talents on its side; and has by the peculiar trials which have met its bright career, only developed more and more fully, the fact, that our country cannot do without it. * * * The two races cannot live together. The malaria of Africa on the one hand, and the organization of American Society on the other, will forever forbid it.

With the warmest desires and prayers for the continued and much enlarged success of the Society, I remain, &c.

Extract of a Letter dated New Orleans, 23rd August, 1834.

Enclosed is a bill on Henry Henderson, of Baltimore, at sight, for one hundred and two dollars and fifty cents, being amount of my subscription on G. Smith's Plan, and one year's subscription to the Repository. * *

I would have remitted this sooner, but for having been absent. My Agent had instructions, but neglected them. I subscribe myself a firmer friend than ever to the good cause.

IMMEDIATE ABOLITION.

The subjoined article, from the Christian Mirror, of August 7, published at Portland, is evidently the production of a sensible writer, well informed as to the facts which he cites, and justly estimating the relation of the free blacks in the United States to the white population. It deserves and will doubtless receive a careful and general perusal.

THE AGITATING QUESTION.

Dear Sir:—The question of emancipation is generally treated by the "Abolitionists," as one, in which the master and slave are alone interested. The rights of society, of the community at large, are seldom if ever, taken into consideration; and yet these are by no means unimportant points, in the discussion of the subject. A large number of the United States hold no slaves; and within the slaveholding States, more especially Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, a large and respectable portion of our citizens are personally exempt from the crime and its profits. That these have a right to be protected from the evil and fatal consequences of immediate emancipation, *they at least*, have no doubt, and this right they ground upon the fundamental law of society, which gives the community a right to protect itself against a portion of its own citizens, by restricting and controlling their rights, when incompatible with the interests of the whole. The white apprentice, though free borne, and entitled to the unqualified use of his own limbs, and the aggregate profits of his own labor, in an abstract point of view, and this as fully, and completely during any one year or period of his life as during any other, is nevertheless by the laws of society, (which by the way he has no voice in making,) condemned to a qualified servitude for seven years of his life; and so general and unquestionable are the beneficial results of such servitude, that its propriety, and the right of society to impose it, are never questioned.—Other instances in the laws of all civilized societies in relation to paupers, servants and women, corroborate and sustain the general principle. This right of society is also its duty, and should be exercised, not only in reference to the present generation, but to posterity.

The abolitionists contend that slavery is a crime and that immediate, unconditional emancipation is the only remedy; that it is the *duty* of the masters, and perfectly *safe* to all concerned. Slaveholders generally admit the evil, but contend that arson, robbery, assassinations, Southampton tragedies and anarchy, (which they say would be the results of immediate emancipation) are greater crimes, and that it is not their *duty*, to do that which will terminate in the extermination by violence, of either the blacks or whites.

To this the abolitionists reply, "You are interested in this question in a pecuniary point of view!—your testimony as witnesses, and your decision as judges cannot therefore be received; your fears are the result of your cupidity and their sincerity may well be questioned." The slaveholder answers "We have correct means of judging upon the subject, you have not. We know intimately, and not by report, the character, feelings, and dispositions of our slaves, you do not. In the experiment of emancipation would be involved, not only our property in slaves, but all our property, and the lives and welfare of ourselves, our wives and our children; while your only stake is a mere matter of opinion."

Let us turn from the opinions of these 'interested' and 'ignorant' judges, to that of others standing indifferent, between the parties, and relieved, if not of all interest, at least of that—pecuniary interest—which the law lays down as the ground of incompetency.

The citizens of the State of Ohio, are by birth, education and habits, opposed to slavery; so much so that slaveholders seldom think it worth their while, to attempt reclaiming runaways in that state. Every legal obstacle is thrown in the way of such attempts, and when such means fail, slaves are often rescued from their reclaiming masters by force, and secreted from subsequent arrest. Now notwithstanding this general sentiment in favor of freedom, and the small number of free blacks in the State, she has been obliged to pass severe laws against the influx of blacks by laying them under regulations not generally in their power to comply with. The burden and danger of such a population overcome their feelings of humanity towards them. Again; it is known to most of those who have any acquaintance with the proceedings of the Colonization Society, that many conscientious slaveholders in the Southern States, have liberated their slaves and even furnished them with an outfit, on condition of their emigration to Liberia. This testimony, exhibited at the expense and loss of hundreds, and in some cases thousands of dollars, presents strong claims to disinterestedness. These same individuals would, however, under their views of the danger of emancipation upon the soil, have felt it their duty to retain them still in slavery, if no means nor place were provided for their emigration from the State.

The citizens of the free States bordering immediately upon the slaveholding States, and also those citizens of the slaveholding States, who own and hold no slaves, however conscientiously and strenuously they may be opposed to the system or the sin, are almost unanimously opposed to emancipation, either immediate or upon the soil. So far as

mere opinions go, these are certainly entitled to much weight, but facts are preferable to opinions.

The objections to immediate, unconditional emancipation are that it is dangerous to society, and unproductive of benefit to the slaves themselves. By this it is not meant that many individual cases of hardship and oppression would not be relieved, but that even if the mightier evils of insurrection and crime are avoided, neither the physical, moral, nor religious character of the blacks would be improved, while intolerable evils would be the consequence to the whites.

In support of this view of the subject, I beg leave to adduce a few facts in reference to a county and Borough, in the western part of Pennsylvania. This State by an act of the Legislature of 1780, provided for the gradual emancipation of its slaves. There are but 2 or 3 hundred in the State, and those of very advanced ages. The free blacks in the State, number about 38,000. In the county of which I speak, the white population is 42,784, the black 852—ratio 1-50. In the Borough, whites 1816, blacks 154—ratio about 1-12.—Probably 1-2 of the whole were free born—and the remainder, free at 28 years of age.—Of course, the evils attendant upon the sudden acquisition of freedom by a numerous, ignorant and depraved population, were with us, happily avoided. Few in number, gradually prepared for freedom, partially instructed in reading and writing and in the possession of freedom commensurate in every respect with the whites, a case is presented favorable to their advancement in all that makes life valuable. You will ask me, "Are they industrious?" I answer, Wealth appears to have no charms for any of them. They are idle and poor. An entire want of energy of mind and body, is and ever has been the first consequence of their freedom. Although able to obtain equal wages with the laboring whites, none of them acquire property. They live in cabins, little one story log huts, chinked with mud, in the suburbs of the town. These generally contain but one room, and often have mud floors. The interior presents a picture of poverty, and too often squalidity. I believe there is but one of these houses, owned by the black tenant, or a colored person. The whole amount of Borough tax collected in 1833, was \$1965.46.—The whole amount paid by the colored population, was \$4.84. The proportion received by them as paupers, has generally been from one half to two thirds of the whole amount of funds expended for the support and relief of the poor, although constituting as before observed, but 1-12th of the population. They live from hand to mouth—proverbially making no provision for the future. Although a cow is protected from execution for debt, it is rare indeed, that one is owned by a black man.

Their improvement in education is about upon a par with their pecuniary advancement and domestic economy. But a few of them can write, and I have never known one read so well as to take pleasure in reading. Books form no part of their cabin furniture or sources of enjoyment. The most of them, perhaps it might be said of all, who acquire any education, receive it at the public expense. Repeated efforts of philanthropic citizens to procure their general and regular attendance at Sabbath schools, and also to organise them into a separate school to be governed and instructed by teachers and managers from among themselves, have produced nothing but mortifying failures.

The most of them, old and young, depend for their dress upon the cast clothing of the whites, and of course have in the shabbiness of their cloths, a ready excuse for non-attendance at school and at meeting, when from idleness or any other cause they choose to absent themselves. Morals and religion seem to be at as low an ebb amongst them, as can well be conceived of in a Christian country. The moral tone of their preachers may be judged of from the fact, that a distinguished one among them in this place, openly and unblushingly advocated their right to *steal from the whites*. I have no statistics of crime before me, but I have no hesitation in saying, where they form 1-50th of the population, they furnish 1-8th of the criminals in our jails.

Free, but realizing none of the nobler advantages of freedom—possessing the right of elective franchise, but never claiming to exercise it—ignorant and degraded, among schools and in the midst of education and refinement—attaining no higher eminence even in the mechanic arts, than the lowest and meanest handicrafts, which not one in fifty attains to—as a class, poor in the extreme and oftentimes actual sufferers from penury in a land of ease, wealth, and plenty—adding nothing to the stock of national wealth or national defence, but a drawback upon both—they form any thing but a valuable class of the community, and however much we may pity their situation, the hope of improving it *here*, is feeble indeed.

Is it to be expected that under these circumstances, and with these facts staring us in the face, we can desire the unconditional emancipation of the Slaves of the United States; exposing ourselves to an influx of such a population ten and perhaps forty times as numerous as the present? and this too while we know that the evils accompanying a degraded population increase in a geometrical and not arithmetical proportion to their numbers. It should be recollected too, that the burden and loss to the wealth of the community from such a class, bear no comparison as evils, with the injuries resulting to the moral tone and character imparted by them to the lower classes of the whites. Of the cause of this degradation and the means of removing it, I may perhaps speak hereafter; the present remarks are advanced only as arguments against immediate, unconditional emancipation.

G. O. W.

[From the Vermont Chronicle, June 6.]

THE OBJECT, AND ITS BEARINGS.

In examining the claims of the Colonization Society the two ought to be considered separately; for the Society, as such, has one single and simple *object*, while its members have different views of the *bearings* of the enterprize, and those bearings depend indeed entirely on the manner in which the enterprize is carried on. The object is to colonize, from the United States, in Africa or elsewhere, free people of color who are willing to go. Now a commercial colony would be one thing and an agricultural another—a Christian colony would be a blessing, a slave-trading one, a curse to Africa and the world. The establishment of a parcel of ignorant, idle and vicious free blacks on the coast of Africa, is to be deprecated, while nothing could be more cheering to the eye of a Christian philanthropist, than a community of the virtuous and intelligent from that class of our citizens, established there, happy in themselves and a light amid the darkness of their father land.

What then may we reasonably expect to be the *bearings* of this enterprize?

Mr. Stuart says of Liberia, that "for Africa it is good. It interrupts the slave trade within its own limits; and the least interruption to that nefarious traffic is an unspeakable good." Even the enemies of the Society, then, are compelled to acknowledge that its affairs have been so conducted as to establish on the coast of Africa a colony that interrupts the slave trade. So far it is well. The bearings of the enterprize are good. And when the reader considers that this is already true of a long extent of coast in Liberia—that it is rapidly stretching along in both directions—that the new colony at Cape Palmas will be equally effective in the cause of humanity—and that the slave trade may be interrupted along the whole coast by a mere extension of the same plan; when he remembers, too, the horrors of that trade, and thinks of the amount of good involved in its suppression,—he will acknowledge that this single item is enough to overbalance a vast amount of incidental evil—should such be found connected with it—and to repay abundantly any probable labors and sacrifices that may be required to effect it.

Again, Mr. Stuart acknowledges that Liberia, like Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope, "forms a new centre, whence civilization and Christianity are radiating through the adjoining darkness. In this respect," he says "no praise can equal the worth of these settlements." Here, also, the character of the colony is so evident, that even an enemy is compelled to acknowledge its value as a means of extending through Africa the blessings of civilization and Christianity. What are these blessings? Such as to be counterbalanced by trifling evils? Such that to bestow them on Africa is an object worthy of but *little* effort and but *trifling* sacrifices? Let these questions be meditated upon in the spirit of Christ.

What must be the plan and actual character of a colony, the influence of which is such as Mr. Stuart describes. What in fact is the plan and character of the colonies at Liberia and Cape Palmas? These questions are not to be answered by petty cavils at the conduct of this or that individual, or by the mention of censurable customs that may have been, in some quarters, countenanced. The subject must be considered as a whole, and in all its bearings. If the general plan is good, mistakes and errors in the minor details of it will be corrected by experience: and it is mean and illiberal, as well as unchristian, to oppose the enterprize by attempting to fix attention exclusively on a few alleged faults, even if the allegations are founded in fact.

But this point deserves an article by itself.

THE NATIONAL SIN.

The Mosaic law required the liberation of Hebrew servants at the end of every sixth year. This law had long been disregarded, when Zedekiah at one time attempted to enforce it. He induced the people to "enter into a covenant" to observe it; and those who had been unjustly retained in bondage were accordingly set free. The principles of the law were acknowledged to be just and of binding force. This spirit, however did not long continue;—but passed away apparently with the circumstances that called it forth. The liberated servants were again brought into subjection, in contempt of law, and in violation of solemnly acknowledged principles of right. In these circumstances, Jeremiah was sent to the Jews with a message of solemn expostulation and warning. He reminded them of the original law—of the neglect of it by their fathers—of their own solemn and practical recognition of its obligations, which he declared to have been right in the sight of the Lord—then upbraided them with their relapse into the same sin in circumstances that greatly increased its enormity, and ended with a terrible warning, which begins thus:

"Therefore thus saith the LORD: Ye have not hearkened to me in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."*

Now we as a nation have sinned just as those Jews did. The principles of right, in accordance with which we have from the first settlement of our country claimed to be treated ourselves, we have refused to apply to the case of our brethren whom we hold in bondage. That liberty, the claim to which on our part, and the principles of which as we have acknowledged and proclaimed to the world, we know to be right we have withheld. We have known the right, and have boastfully proclaimed our knowledge of and allegiance to it; but have refused or neglected to extend its benefits to our slaves.† And we are thus exposing ourselves to the very curse threatened by the prophet. So far as we have as individuals, failed to do our duty in regard to making this whole people consistent in applying the principles of American Liberty, just so far ought we as individuals, to regard as addressed to ourselves, the expostulations and warnings of Jeremiah.

In such circumstances what are we, in Vermont, to do? Can we be silent and inactive? What course can we take in order no longer to be partakers in the guilt connected with the continuance of slavery? How can we best combat the spirit of slavery; how most successfully labor to secure to its victims what is required by justice and the law of love?

We answer, by continuing to support the Colonization Society on anti-slavery principles. In connexion with what we do, let our principles in regard to slavery be fully and earnestly proclaimed. Let it be seen that we think and feel, and act under the control of deep convictions of duty on the subject; and that we are willing to labor and to make sacrifices in obedience to these convictions. Let our support of this society be such, and given on such grounds, as to prove our readiness to do our part towards making every man in the United States an intelligent freeman. Such support given to the cause here would operate in favor of the abolition of slavery in several ways,—of which we will now mention only one:

It would increase the Anti-Slavery influence of the Colonization Society in the slave-holding states. When a man liberates his slaves in order to

*See the 34th Chapter of Jeremiah.

† We speak of the *people* of the United States as a people bound by the laws of love and righteousness. Some of the *States*, as such, have become consistent. But as Christians, and friends of liberty, we are bound, to the extent of our influence, to see that such consistency prevails throughout the whole country.

emigrate to Liberia, he attracts the attention of his friends, and of all slave-holders in the vicinity, to the subject of manumission. His character is known. Those who thus liberate their slaves, are men whose characters command respect. The subject is urged home on the others by the authority of such an example. It is Anti-Slavery preaching of the most powerful kind; and we can use it, here and there throughout the whole South, without, by the manner of our approach, barring minds and hearts against our appeal. Such examples of manumission will increase just in proportion as we succeed in making our Colonies desirable homes for the blacks, and in providing funds to defray the expenses of their passage, &c. The subject may thus be kept before the mind and urged on the conscience of the slave-holder, without the intervention of any of that prejudice and ill-will that are too easily awakened by more direct appeals from non-slaveholding States.—[*Ibid.*

[From the *National Intelligencer*, August 30.]

FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR.

Approving of the patriotic design, our best wishes have always attended the exertions of the American Society for colonizing on the coast of Africa such free persons of color as desire to go thither, for the purpose of enjoying all the privileges of a free government, and have rejoiced to see the Society hitherto supported by the joint contributions of benevolent individuals in every part of the Union. We have also observed with pleasure, that the Colonization Society of Maryland (formerly an auxiliary of the Parent Society) has lately purchased Cape Palmas, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of forming a separate establishment for that State, to be supported by the resources of the State, and under the entire control of that society; for the maintenance of which the Legislature has generously appropriated \$20,000 a year for ten years. But, after the State of Maryland had made so liberal an appropriation in behalf of its institution, we regretted to see that the Society had employed agents to solicit aid from the citizens of Massachusetts for carrying into effect their project; because we feared, that in doing so, they would, in proportion to their success, deprive the Parent Society of its usual support, which depends entirely on the voluntary contributions of individuals and auxiliary societies; and if these were to fail, no further additions could be made to the Colony, the emigrants at present in Liberia would necessarily be exposed to great want and distress, and the Society itself expire for want of that support which is indispensable to its existence.

The young men of Pennsylvania, or rather of Philadelphia, have also lately formed themselves into a Colonization Society, with a view of establishing a settlement at Bassa Cove, within the limits of Liberia: the Society to be auxiliary to the Parent Society, and the colonists to be governed by the general laws of the present colony, and such other municipal regulations as may be provided, subject to the approval of the Parent Board; the expense of settlement to be defrayed by funds to be raised by themselves within their own State.

Whatever separate colonial establishments may hereafter be formed on the African Coast by any of the States (if others shall be found desirable,) we think it would be but just towards the Parent Society, and expedient as regards the general cause of colonization, to confine themselves to their

own State for support, and leave the collections made in the churches, and the donations of individuals and auxiliary societies in the States generally, as at present, to go to the support of the Parent Society.

PROSPECTS OF LIBERIA.

The chances of success for the Colony of Liberia are, after making all due allowance for the inferiority of the blacks, just as fair as were the daring attempts of the early white settlers upon the continent of North America. Were not the expeditions of Columbus, Cabot, Raleigh, Hudson Winthrop, Oglethorpe, &c. also deemed visionary? Suppose our Puritan, Protestant, Catholic, German, Dutch, Swedish ancestors, had been of such timid temperament that they would have been deterred by the dissuasions of the croakers of that day? Our glorious empire would have still been a wilderness of savages, and this great experiment which we are making to demonstrate the capacity of man for self-government, would have been to this day an Utopian dream. With our own proud example, therefore, before us, we should be the first to encourage this noble attempt to reconquer degraded Africa from her miserable vassalage by the light which her own liberated children take back with them from this free country. The day may come when Liberia shall prove another rock of Plymouth, and Timbuctoo the seat of another Harvard—when Africa, the land of the moor, of the desert, and the camel, shall have its oases peopled by the sovereign States; and the inappreciable blessings of education and of republican institutions shall extend over her sandy plains from the gates of Hercules to the mouth of the Niger.—*N. Y. Star.*

LETTER FROM A COLONIST.

In our number for October, 1833, (*African Repository*, Vol. 9, p. 250,) we published a letter from Hanson Leiper, a respectable Colonist, to a gentleman in Georgetown, D. C. He has since addressed to the same gentleman another letter, dated "Edina, Grand Bassa, 11th May, 1834," from which we have been favoured with the following extract:

"I am very happy to inform you that I am well at present, and hope these few lines may find you the same. I received your letter with great delight, which afforded me great pleasure. I have almost come to the conclusion to come over in twelve months from this date. I have not lost the spirit of farming and agriculture; though a few months past, I have spent in exploring the interior of this country. I have travelled about 50 or 60 miles back in the interior, and in all the course of my travels, I have found the natives kind and benevolent. Camwood can be bought very plentifully, providing I had means; bullocks and fine goats may be purchased also plentifully in that section of the country. I have made several discoveries of metal, which I consider valuable; a sample of which, I have sent you in this letter. I, myself, agree with you that agriculture is one of the greatest things we can turn our attention to, either in the United States or Africa; although we in Africa, being somewhat in a diminutive state, are obliged to attend to the agricultural and commercial business. It has been about two weeks from this date, since we have drawn our forty-eight acres of land on the south-east side of St. John's river, and I must acknowledge, that I have never seen finer land or better timber any where else as yet, than that contained in our survey; which myself, with the thirty-three of our volunteers, intend to go on to, in our pursuit of farming. We have yet got along tolerably well since we have embarked at this place, with the exception of one of the chiefs named Yellow Will—he has made a little disturbance for a few months. This disturbance originated from a jealousy of one of the chiefs who we

consider almost as one of our citizens, named Bob Gray, against whom Yellow Will declared war. This warfare interfered with us in stopping the paths so our commercial business could not go on. On the third day of May, our superior, together with our Chief Magistrate and the Chiefs of the surrounding tribes, called a Council, had the subject properly investigated, and our friend, Bob Gray, gained the suit. At present, we are perfectly in peace and harmony."

REPORT

Of the Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Religious Instruction of the Colored population, of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at its late Session in Columbia, S. C.—Published by order of Synod.

(CONCLUDED FROM p. 207.)

4. Another benefit is, *we shall promote our own morality and religion.*

The influence of the negroes upon the moral and religious interests of the whites, is destructive in the extreme. We cannot go into special detail. It is unnecessary. We make our appeal to universal experience. We are chained to a putrid carcase; it sickens and destroys us. We have a millstone hanging about the neck of our society, to sink us deep in the sea of vice. Our children are corrupting from their infancy, nor can we prevent it. Many an anxious parent, like the missionary in foreign lands, wishes that his children could be brought up beyond the reach of the corrupting influence of depraved heathen. Nor is this influence confined to mere childhood. If that were all, it would be tremendous. But it follows us into youth, into manhood, and into old age.

And when we come directly in contact with their depravity in the *management* of them; then come temptations and provocations and trials that unsearchable grace only can enable us endure. In all our intercourse with them, we are undergoing a process of intellectual and moral deterioration, and it requires almost superhuman effort to maintain a high standing either for intelligence or piety.

The effort to evangelize them, will tend directly to increase and to encourage the growth of grace in our own souls. This is the testimony of those who have made the attempt.—Consequently, the Church will take a higher stand for piety, and realize the promise, "He that waters shall be watered also himself." And as God crowns our labors with blessings, the negroes will become more modest, more elevated in intelligence and morality;—our youth will be defended from contamination, and our riper years from overpowering trials. As the one class rises, so will the other;—the two are so intimately associated, that they rise or fall together—to benefit servants, evangelize the masters—to benefit the masters, evangelize the servants.

5. *Much unpleasant discipline will be saved to the Churches.*

The offences of colored communicants against Christian character and church order, are very numerous, and frequently heinous. The discipline is difficult, wearisome and unpleasant. Excommunications are of continued occurrence, and are usually, in a short time, followed by applications for re-admission; for with them, to die under sentence of excommunication, is eternal ruin itself. There never will be a better state of things until the negroes are better instructed in religion.

6. The last benefit we shall mention is, one that we convey to servants, instrumentally:—*It is the salvation of their souls.*

The great object for which we would communicate religious instruction is, that their souls may be saved. To this all other objects should be subordinate; and we believe that God will bless our instructions according to our desire. Strengthened by faith, let us be willing to sow in tears, for we shall reap in joy. Let us be willing to go forth weeping and bearing precious seed, for we shall come again with rejoicing, bearing sheaves with us. If the rest of Heaven is sweet to any human being, it is to the poor African. If the cheering hopes of a blessed immortality are necessary to any human being, to animate and sustain him in his pilgrimage below, they are necessary to the poor African. All souls are mine saith the Lord; and his glory may be advanced as much in the salvation of the soul of an African servant, as in the salvation of the soul of any other man whatever.

According to the Providence and word of God, it is our duty to impart the Gospel to our servants; and the duty is to us both privilege and interest; but to this present hour it has been neglected. And why neglected? Have we any excuse to offer, that God will accept? We tremble when we affirm, that the guilt of this neglect to perform such obvious and important duty, falls unrelieved upon the Southern Church; for we believe, that we can present not one excuse that will bear the test of candid examination.

Shall we say that our servants already partake of the Gospel? Have we not shown, that they do not to that extent that their necessities and our duty demand?

Shall we say, that *they are incapable of receiving it*?

Dare we utter a wilful, malicious libel against the *Great Parent of all*?

Dare we contradict his own most Holy Word? and incur the guilt of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, whose renewing influences are distinctly seen in numerous instances.

Shall we say that *we have not the means*?

Have we children—can we not instruct them? Have we servants—and can we not instruct them?

What may we not do by our own personal efforts? We may read and explain the Bible; teach portions of it; converse with them on the subject of the soul's salvation, and implore the blessing of God upon them. In a thousand ways, if we feel as we ought, we may do something.

And what may we not do through members of our own families, or pious or willing neighbors, who may be qualified to teach? What may we not do through the employment of missionaries, to devote their whole time to the negroes? But missionaries must be supported in such labor? Very true. But the expense borne by a neighborhood of planters, would fall lightly on each; while the peace of mind and the benefits resulting from such a discharge of duty, would counterbalance that expense. We know, however, that this is a delicate point, and men are hard to be moved to any good purpose touching it. The ministry to the whites is not adequately supported. There are very many great respecters and lovers of religion, who highly appreciate the privileges of the Gospel, and anxiously desire the salvation of perishing men; but who seem to think, that the instruments in this glorious work, require little or no pecuniary support; in a word, contrary to reason and Scripture, think that ministers should preach for nothing and find themselves. But can missionaries in sufficient numbers be procured? We answer they can. And the way to procure them is briefly this. In the first place, Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth laborers into his vineyard. And in the second—Associate yourselves—take up the work in good earnest, and employ all who present themselves; and if you have more fields than can be supplied, call for more missionaries, and they will be raised up and sent. The way to have our wants supplied, is to let them be known.

Shall we say, that *Christianity meets with little success amongst them*?

When we consider the influence of the circumstances of this people upon their religious character, our wonder should be, not that the Gospel meets with *little success*, but that it meets with *any success at all*, for their circumstances are in the last degree unfavorable to the cultivation of piety. We do not, however, make proper allowances in our expectations. We have lost much of our patience and benevolence. Having reduced them to ignorance and by our neglect of duty confirmed them in vice, we now quarrel with their stupidity and obduracy. If they are not made intelligent and pious in a few days, we are ready to cry out, that labor is vain; the field must be abandoned as an unprofitable one. We act unreasonably and uncharitably. We expect more of them than of ourselves, or any other people. *They who would evangelize servants, must let patience have her perfect work.*

It certainly comes with a very ill grace from us to speak of the little success of the Gospel amongst the negroes. That little success is our condemnation; for what great efforts have we made, that we should expect great success? Where we bestow no labor, we must expect no reward.

We may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the Gospel meets with as much success amongst the negroes, as amongst any other unlettered heathen in the world, proper allowances being made. We should be encouraged, therefore, to put forth vigorous efforts in their behalf. God has designs of mercy towards them. When the soul is at stake, we are not to speak of expense and trouble in saving it. To overthrow the excuse at once, we add,—if the Gospel met with *no success at all*, it would be no reason why we should not undertake the religious instruction of the negroes. For if we certainly determine that it is our duty, (as we have already done) we should do it. The success of that instruction belongs not to us, but to God; nor are we to limit his sovereignty in granting or withholding a blessing at any particular time. We are to labor in faith, and labor on.—This is the view which every Christian should and must take of the subject.

Shall we say that *there are peculiar and great difficulties hard to be overcome*?

Such for example, as the ignorance, indifference, and in some instances, the opposition of masters—the want of funds—of missionaries—of systems of instruction—the stupidity and viciousness of servants, and confinement to *oral* instruction entirely? We ask, will these and other difficulties that might be mentioned, be removed by being let alone? Are there any means now in operation for their removal? Will they ever be fewer in number than they are at the present time?

There are difficulties in every enterprise of benevolence, and if we wait in our efforts to do good, until all difficulties are removed, we shall never commence. Times are suddenly and strangely altered in the world if Christians can do good without encountering much that will try the purity and firmness of their purposes. Shall we cower and retire before difficulties? By no means. We are to encounter them patiently, kindly, perseveringly; casting our care on God. He calls us to the duty. The work is His. In His strength we labor. Do difficulties present themselves? Remember God is great. Difficulties appear large in the distance; but the nearer and more resolute our advance, the

smaller they become, until when in the strength of the Lord we encounter them, they vanish out of sight. But, of whose creation are these difficulties? Certainly not of the poor negroes? In themselves considered, we meet with no difficulties but such as arise from the natural enmity of the heart to truth. The difficulties lie at our door, and it is unjust that they should be made innocent sufferers. We thrust ourselves and our arrangements between them and eternal life and then make excuse, that there are difficulties in the way!

We have no excuses. The reason of our neglect of duty, is our ignorance on the one hand, and our indisposition on the other. As the true light now begins to shine, we cannot retain either the one or the other, without convicting ourselves of heinous sin.

There are some objections to the religious instruction of the negroes, originating, as we believe, in misconceptions of the subject. We feel it our duty to give these objections a brief consideration.

The first is, *If we suffer our negroes to be religiously instructed, the tendency, yea the certain end of it, will be emancipation.*

In reply, we remark, that we separate entirely their moral and their civil condition; and contend, that the one may be attended to, without interfering with the other.

Our principle is that laid down by the Holy and Just One—"Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things which are God's." And Christ and his Apostles are our example. Did they deem it proper to preach the Gospel to servants? They did. Did they, in discharge of this duty, interfere with their civil condition? They did not.—They expressed no opinion whatever on their civil condition, if we except that which appears in one of the epistles to the Corinthian Church. There the Apostle Paul considers a state of freedom preferable to one of servitude and advises slaves, if they can lawfully obtain their freedom, to do it, but not otherwise. May we not follow in the footsteps of the Saviour and his Apostles? Yea, and without proceeding as far as did the Apostle Paul? We maintain, that in a judicious religious instruction, there will be no necessary interference with their civil condition. The religious teacher must step out of his way for the purpose. This we know from our own experience.

But why will the end of religious instruction be emancipation? Do not the majority, perhaps of our citizens who make this objection, consider slavery sanctioned by the Bible? Do they sincerely believe it? If they do, why then do they hesitate to have the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, preached to their servants? But do they believe the contrary? Then our answer is but a word: Shall thousands, and even millions of immortal minds be sacrificed at the shrine of cupidity? Which ought to prevail for the good of mankind, for the glory of our country, for the prosperity of the cause of God,—principle or interest? Right or wrong? Let the enlightened conscience of the philanthropist, of the patriot, and of the Christian, return the answer.

The tendency feared in the objection, is a moral one only, which we cannot possibly avoid, do what we may. It is folly to contend against God. Christianity is ultimately to prevail on the earth, and in due course of time, will reach our servants. And should the particular end, spoken of in the objection, come by the preaching of the Gospel, happy are we in believing, that it could not come in a more gradual, in an easier nor in a safer way. It will be the work of the Almighty, the effect of the Divine principles of his word, which, in their operation, while they impel the master to the end, will restrain the servant from all acts of precipitate violence to attain it. And thus may the glory of the removal of the evil be laid at the foot of the cross.

We express ourselves thus freely, because we are called upon to meet an objection, which, if it prevails, will be ruinous to the prosperity of our country, and the best interests of vast multitudes of souls.

Come what may, as Christians, we have no alternative. If we are to obey God our Saviour, we must preach the Gospel to servants; and as we have already said, so say we again—*Let us and all our interests fall into the hands of God.*

If we suffer our negroes to be religiously instructed, *the way will be opened for men from abroad to enter in, and inculcate doctrines subversive of our interest and safety.*

The field of labor is one of no ordinary difficulty; and it is the dictate of prudence, to look into the character and qualifications of those who enter it. On this point we wish to be distinctly understood. They should be *Southern men*—men entitled to this appellation, either those who have been born and reared in the South, or those who have identified themselves with the South, familiarly acquainted with the structure of society, and having all their interests here. Can objections be urged against such men? Is it probable that they will ruin themselves, their families and their interests?

The very spirit which prompts the objection, refutes it? For, how is it possible, when such a wary vigilance is manifested, for individuals, *strangers* in the community, to come in, have access to the negroes, and sow the seeds of discontent and revolt? It is impossible. They cannot come unless we permit them.

The most effectual method to preclude the introduction of such persons, is for us to take the religious instruction of the negroes into our own hands, and to superintend it ourselves. We shall then know, *who* their teachers are, and *what* they are taught.

3. The religious instruction of the negroes, *will lead to insubordination.*

They will assume an equality with the master, neglect their work, and resist discipline. This might be the effect of injudicious instruction—of instruction that did not recognize their condition in society, and inculcate the duties appropriate to it. But let us “rightly divide the word, and the evil apprehended at once vanishes. What saith the Scripture? Ministers are commanded to “exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things: not answering again: not purloining, but showing all good fidelity: that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.” Again:—“Servants be obedient unto them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness, as unto Christ; not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.” The passage in Colossians, is similar. We bring forward two more. “Servants be subject to your masters with all fear: not only to the good and gentle but also to the froward. For this is thank-worthy if a man, for conscience toward God endure grief suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when you be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.”

“Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed: And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.”

Such are the commands to servants, as comprehensive of their duties as any master could desire. We even see the Apostle Paul using his influence to secure obedience to these commands in a particular instance. The “unprofitable” Onesimus he restores to his master, though he had escaped from him to the distance of several hundred miles.—He restores him a “brother beloved.” His letter to Philemon for beauty and excellency is above all praise.

We now ask, will the authority of masters be weakened by instructions of this sort?—No, never. That authority is strengthened by considerations drawn from eternity. If insubordination ensues, it will be the fault of the master, and not of the instruction. The master is the master still. Religious instruction, while it softens down the severity of discipline, by elevating the moral principles of master and servant, does not supersede the necessity of it. Otherwise, men would be made perfect in this life. Our view is, *that religious instruction should be accompanied with a proper and efficient discipline.*—Should the master relax his discipline, whether he gives religious instruction or not, his servants will become disorderly and unprofitable. We desire the sentiments now expressed to be pondered and adopted by all who wish well to the cause of religion among servants.

What parent considers the religious instruction of his children, as having a tendency to make them more wicked and disorderly? Or, what judicious parent will relax his discipline, because he gives religious instruction? Will not the very fact of giving that instruction, prompt him to perfect and maintain discipline? We are to act towards our servants, on the same principles that we act towards our children.

Will they not, however, embrace the seasons of religious worship, for originating and executing plans of insubordination?

We answer, by no means, if the religious teacher is faithful in his supervision of his charge, and is assisted in the public meetings by the planters, for whose servants he labors. The presence of white men in their religious assemblies, precludes such a thing. Wherever such plans have been originated in religious meetings, it was because the white community was unfaithful to the negroes, and to themselves: They should have been present in those meetings. To leave the negroes to themselves in their religious affairs, is placing them in the way of temptation.

But why are men so tenacious of religious assemblies? Are not the negroes privileged by some to assemble for feasting and merriment, for particular kinds of labor, and at places of trade? We hear of no objections against such assemblies. If we are competent to the management of the latter, we certainly are of the former.

4. The religious instruction of the negroes will do no good; it will only make them worse men and worse hypocrites.

What is the Gospel? Is it not the grace of God that bringeth salvation;—teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works? This is the Gospel.—These are the things which we are to teach and exhort. And is it under such teaching and exhortation, that men will increase in crime and hypocrisy?—Why should the Gospel produce an effect upon negroes contrary to that which it is designed to produce, and which it actually produces on all other men, and on some whose condition is worse than theirs?

From what people did we, with all our piety and morality and intelligence spring?—From a people, we were about to say, once as degraded as negroes. And what has lifted

us so far above our progenitors? The Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel. Is there, then, no redeeming power in the Gospel for the Africans? We believe that there is, because they are men, endowed with reason and conscience as are other men; because past history declares it, because we know it from our own personal observation, which is supported by that of others. We would point all who doubt of the salutary effects of attempts to christianize Africans, to the present condition of the Hottentots and other tribes, under the care of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope. Yea the Hottentots!

And what is the moral degradation of any people to the power of the Holy Ghost?—The immortal mind may be darkened and polluted by ignorance and sin; but the immortal mind is there, and that precious jewel may be cleansed of its defilements, filled with light and purity, and fitted for the highest and most honorable uses, both in this world and in that which is to come.

The objection is not supported by a solitary fact. Wherever negroes have really enjoyed, for any reasonable time, the privileges of the Gospel, in point of general morality and order, they are in advance of those who have not enjoyed them. Is it not conceded, that a truly pious servant gives less trouble, and is more profitable, than one who is not? Is there one planter in a thousand who does not desire such servants? Is it not true, that the most pious servants exert the happiest influence in promoting honesty and good order on plantations and in neighborhoods?

That there are a number of nominal Christians amongst them, we do not deny. But why is it so? Are they made hypocrites by faithful instruction? No. The abounding of spurious religion, results from a deficiency of faithful instruction, and a too hasty admission into the Church, after a profession of conversion? A reformation on our part, in regard to these two particulars, would produce a very happy effect upon the purity and permanency to their religious character.

The fact that many are hypocrites, proves to no inconsiderable extent, that there are advantages connected with a profession of religion; and where shall we look mainly for these advantages, if not to that higher estimation in which they are held by all persons?

One or two irregularities in their meetings, or one or two defections, are sufficient to prejudice the minds of many against the religious instruction of the negroes. Because they remain impenitent and pervert the Gospel, therefore are they unworthy of it? Who, then would be worthy, if God should deal with us according to this rule?

Suppose we admit the objection to be true in its fullest extent, and what then? Does it annul our duty? Far from it. Let them harden themselves and grow worse under the means of grace; whether they will hear or forbear, we are to throw the responsibility of their salvation upon their own shoulders, and to clear our garments of their blood. And who are we—in what age, and in what country of the world do we live, that we should question the excellency of the Gospel—the propriety of preaching it to the poor?

The objections, now briefly considered, we do not deem of sufficient weight to deter us from the conclusion to which we have already come, *that it is our duty to impart the Gospel to our colored population.*

We cannot close this report, extended beyond our expectations by the interest of the subject, without asking ourselves, nay, the Church of Christ, in the slave-holding States, why is not this duty felt; and why has it not been performed?

Why is there such general apathy to the perishing condition of two millions of heathen? Why is it, that so much feeling may be awakened, touching their civil condition—and so little, touching their religious condition? The latter is infinitely to be esteemed above the former, and proportionably attended to.

Are not ministers of the Gospel to be blamed? Why have they not looked into the destitute condition of this people,—and, as they have had opportunity, labored for their salvation, esteeming them as part of their charge? Why have they not urged upon masters, their duties to their servants? Are ministers not set to watch for souls, and carry the Gospel in every way they can to the destitute?

Are not Christian masters to be blamed? Why have they not seriously undertaken to do something for their ignorant, degraded servants, who are every day toiling to supply them with the comforts of life?

The guilt lies upon both Ministers and people, and it has been accumulating ever since the introduction of negroes into this country. We who profess to know what is the value of the soul, what is the love and preciousness of the Saviour, *we* are to take the lead; the world never will. What a multitude of souls have perished through our neglect! What a multitude are now perishing, and will perish ere we reach them with the good news of salvation! What a multitude of masters have already met with the awful charge at the Bar of God, of having practically despised the eternal interests of the souls of their servants.—This charge lies upon masters on every hand; and we tremble lest they may meet it unprepared.

Our whole country groans under the sin of neglect of the salvation of these people. If we continue in this neglect, as God hath now spoken to us, as the true light now shineth, we shall have no cloak for our sin.

We shall manifest a *fearful deficiency in the spirit of the religion which we profess.*

That spirit is one of *love*—of *obedience*. “If ye love me, keep my commandments.”—“*Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*” “*Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal.*” “*Preach the Gospel to every creature.*” We are weighed in the balances and found wanting. Do we not see our brother have need, and do we not shut up the bowels of our compassion from him? What avail our numerous works of benevolence?—Our Missionaries dwelling in foreign countries, and penetrating to the most destitute settlements of our own? Our Bibles and our Tracts, that all must receive and read? Our Sunday schools, and Seamen, Friend, and Prison Discipline, and Temperance, and numerous other Societies? The very means which we use in contributing to these works, come of the labors of our perishing servants; and no provision is made for them! We are inconsistent. And our Saviour will say to us, “These ye ought to have done, and not have left the other undone.” If servants have immortal souls, we must treat them accordingly.—To clothe them when they are naked—to feed them when they are hungry—to minister to them when they are sick, does not embrace all our duty. If we do no more, we treat them as the brutes that perish. We must rise higher, and be careful to minister to the necessities of their souls.

On the principles of *self-interest* and *love of country* the duty should be discharged. He who neglects it, loses sight of his own best interests for time and eternity, and of the peace and prosperity of his country. But we take our stand in the discharge of this duty on *Christian principles*—on conscience enlightened by the Word of God, and quickened by the Holy Spirit. Here is the foundation—and if such a foundation exists in the Church of Christ in the slave-holding States, the duty will be felt, and a discharge of it attempted.—We believe that such a foundation exists, and we look and appeal with confidence to the Church, to awake to effort in all her members.

The negroes are cast at the door of the Southern Church. They form her great field of Missions, and we cannot allow the claims of any heathen in the world upon us, to be paramount to theirs; and we make the declaration, *that unless we occupy this field, we need not expect the blessing of God to any extent upon our Zion*, for we shall be living in known neglect of duty, and neglect of such duty as must be exceedingly displeasing to Him.

The time is short: What we do we must do quickly. We shall soon be in our graves, returning to the dust side by side with our servants. We shall soon be before the Bar of God, where the artificial distinctions of this world will not be recognized. God is no respecter of persons. Every man shall be judged according to his work. Let us, therefore, in the strength of our God and Saviour, renounce our ignorance, and our indisposition, and extend the privileges of the Gospel to this neglected, dying people, or we shall not meet them in peace at the last day.

MR. RIVES AND COLONIZATION.

WILLIAM C. RIVES, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, and recently minister of the United States to France, addressed to a friend on the 20th of August last, a letter of which the following extract appears in the Richmond Enquirer of September 9th.

Extract of a letter to H. A. G. Esq.—Aug. 30th, 1834.

“I am no *Abolitionist*, and never have been one. In common with every American patriot, I have deplored the existence of slavery in our country, and would rejoice to see any safe and feasible remedy adopted, if such could be devised, to mitigate or to remove the evil. But I would never give my sanction to any remedy which would disregard the rights of property to the slave owner; which I consider as held under the same guarantees of the law and the Constitution, that protect every other right of property. I did not approve of any of the schemes which were proposed in the Legislature, at the time the subject was under consideration in that body; but, on the contrary, saw insuperable objections to all of them. The policy I have favored, as both the *most safe and practicable*, is that of the COLONIZATION SCHEME, which by gradually draining the country of its free colored population, and of slaves who should be voluntarily manumitted by their masters, would at the same time, promote the interests of the slave owners themselves, by removing a great source of corruption and disaffection among the slaves, and by keeping down the aggregate number of slaves, would place the problem of an ultimate extinction of slavery, at some remote period of our future history, more within the power of auspicious contingencies which the course of events might present.”

“These are the views I have always entertained, and repeatedly expressed. They are, far as I can recollect, the views expressed by me in my correspondence with my friends

while I was in France. Alive as I was, during my residence abroad, to every thing which affected the feelings and interests of my country, I could not but be deeply moved by the horrid catastrophe which occurred in Southampton, in the summer of 1831. I saw that public attention had been every where in our State, awakened to the great question which that event had forced on the reflection of even the most careless and unthinking. Under these circumstances, I have no doubt that, in my communications with my friends, I expressed in strong terms, my sense of the evil of slavery in our country, and an anxious desire, if any remedy for it could be devised, to see some safe and prudent measure adopted to lessen, if not remove it. I felt, at the same time, all the delicacy and difficulty of the subject, which I well recollect to have expressed, and to have declared my conscious inability, at the distance I was from the scene of deliberation, and deprived of an interchange of opinion with others, to judge what ought to be done. My general views, however, were those which I have stated above—they are the views I now entertain; and I feel satisfied, that there was nothing either in my letter to Mr. Ritchie, or to any other of my correspondents, inconsistent with the explanation here given of those views."

INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. JOHNSON CLEVELAND, a highly respectable citizen and Magistrate of Loudon county, Va. died at his residence on the 24th of August last, having made provision in his last will and testament that it should be optional with his slaves whether to emigrate to Liberia, or to choose for themselves among his near kindred, a master; and that they should be allowed two years for deciding.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The subjoined letter brings the pleasing intelligence of the institution of an Auxiliary Colonization Society at Kinderhook Academy, N. York:

KINDERHOOK ACADEMY, Aug. 26, 1834.

DEAR SIR:—

It is with pleasure I can inform you of the recent organization of an Auxiliary Colonization Society in this Academy. It has commenced under very auspicious circumstances, embracing about twenty members; and the hope is cherished, that from a peaceful beginning, it will go on, conciliating the good will of persons who may entertain different views from those of the Society; and, by diffusing correct information on the subject of Colonization among the students, and giving a fixedness to their principles and a noble and salutary channel to the zeal and enthusiasm with which they enter the world; be the means of ultimately doing some good in the cause of human liberty and happiness. The Preamble to our Constitution reads thus:—

WHEREAS the wretched condition of the People of Colour in this country calls for immediate amelioration, and the kind sympathies and cordial support of every benevolent and Christian heart in any work that is calculated to effect so desirable an end; and WHEREAS the American Coloniza-

tion Society has recommended itself to the world, by the benign influence it has exerted upon this class of our fellow-beings; by the disinterestedness and expanded beneficence of its scheme; its enlightening and Christianizing action upon Africa; its fully developed tendency to create a spirit of emancipation; and the dignity and elevation the Negro character is deriving from its sweet and healing influences—

Therefore be it Resolved, That we form ourselves into a Society for aiding in the advancement of so grateful and laudable an object, and adopt the following articles for its furtherance.

One article in our Constitution is nearly to this effect: That the Society shall aid the Parent Institution, not only by the contribution of money, but also by the exertion of its influence in forming other Societies.—The necessity of the latter clause of that article, was foreseen by many: It would be necessary that something should be done to counteract, or rather to forestal, the influence which the gratuitous publications, emitted from the "Oneida Institute" and other places, might possibly create; and therefore the article was made, so that it might furnish ground for future exertion in the shape of circulars, etc.

I am authorized to write for the "Repository," which, from the commencement of the present volume, you will please send, if you can, directed to "The Secretary of the Kinderhook Academy Colonization Society." The Money will be remitted, for the same, by the Hon. A. Vanderpool, M. C. together with as much more as is realized from the Society.

With the greatest respect,

CHAS. J. SCOTT.

Sec'y of K. A. C. S.

To the Sec'y of Am. }
Colonization Society, } Rev. R. R. GURLEY.

It is with peculiar pleasure that we transfer to the columns of the Repos-

itory, from the Fredericksburg Arena of the 22d of August, the well written and comprehensive though brief Report of the Managers of the Fredericksburg and Falmouth Female Auxiliary Colonization Society. Their eloquent appeal in behalf of the cause in which they are engaged will not, it is hoped, be heard in vain, in a State so much interested as Virginia is in the success of the Colonizing Scheme, and where female benevolence is so deservedly influential. The determination of the ladies of Fredericksburg and Falmouth to direct their efforts to the encouragement of female education at the Colony is calculated to produce the most important benefits to Liberia, and will, we trust, find many imitators among our fair country women throughout the union.

Report of the Board of Managers of the Fredericksburg and Falmouth Female Colonization Society, presented July 4th, 1834.

The receipts of the Society, from the 20th of July, 1833, to the 4th of July, 1834, were

	\$129 28
Balance on hand 30th July, 1833,	65 57
	\$194 85
The receipts accrued from the subscriptions of members, and the donations of friends. Among both of these classes, the ladies in the country have been conspicuous for zeal and liberality. The disbursements were—	
For outfit and passage to Norfolk of two Colonists,	\$27 37
Cash sent to the Parent Society at Washington, - - - -	167 00
	\$194 37
Balance on hand,	48
	\$194 85

The two colonists above mentioned were Sally, a woman freed by Mr. William Berry, of Orange, and Melinda, a girl liberated by Mr. John Morton, late of Fredericksburg—with a direct view to their settlement in Africa. They sailed in November last, on board the ship *Jupiter*, from Norfolk, among 54 emigrants. That vessel, having safely deposited its freight in Liberia, returned, more than four months ago, to our own shores.

The outfit of those two colonists, and the remittance of that small sum to the American Colonization Society, constitute all the fruits of our little association during the past year. With chagrin and regret we acknowledge a result so unworthy of our cause—so incommensurate with the results of other similar associations—and so incalculably dis-

proportioned to the wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, of the community around us.—That so little has been done, can be attributed only to a deplorable, but not unaccountable apathy pervading and benumbing the public mind, towards the Colonization scheme: an apathy, traceable at once to ignorance of what the society has done, and misapprehension of what it designs to do.—Some of its adversaries charge it, with aiming secretly at *Abolition*; others, with a deadly and unpardonable hostility to *Abolition*.—Leaving these inconsistent objections to be refuted, as well by their mutual contradiction, as by their inherent and oft established falsehood, the Board will simply declare, that the object of the Colonization Society is, *To settle, in Africa, such free persons of colour as may freely consent to go thither; and that the chief end of this removal is, To improve the condition of the emigrants.* Two secondary advantages are indeed expected: relief to America; civilization, christianity and free government, to Africa: but these objects, so vast in the eye of the statesman and philanthropist, are yet immeasurably subordinated to the first, in the wishes of the Colonization Society.

But not even the unjust ascription of improper motives has so much averted public favour from this cause, as ignorance and unbelief of its actual and probable success. In vain has the Colony lived down the croakings of those prophets, who averred its speedy and total failure to be inevitable: in vain has it advanced in population, wealth and the useful arts, beyond all former colonies known to History: in vain have its advantages, and its successful progress, been heralded forth by its white friends, by deputies of our coloured people, sent out to examine its real condition; and by the colonists themselves, in a touching and persuasive appeal to their brethren here. The public ear has been deaf, the public mind has been drugged so as to hear not, or understand not, the truth so repeatedly and impressively told: and at this moment, ninety-nine hundredths of the Virginia people know none of the material facts relative to the colony. That it possesses 5 or 6000 square miles of land so fertile, in a climate so congenial to the black man's constitution, as to be capable of sustaining a million of inhabitants, with power to extend its dominion peaceably, almost at pleasure, over the surrounding wilds—that it has three towns, one of which contains 220 dwelling houses, several Churches for Christian worship, several schools, a newspaper press, prosperous warehouses of merchandise, and wharves and a port enlivened by an active commerce—that it numbers already three thousand inhabitants—that it enjoys a government on the American model, with jury trial and a well disciplined militia, those best bulwarks of Liberty—that it has done much, and bids fair to do much more, towards extirpating the African slave trade—that the surrounding native tribes are peaceably and amicably disposed—that two

of them have placed themselves under the protection of the colony, soliciting a share in its polity, and are sending their children to its schools—and that this triumphant progress is the work, not of some powerful government, but of private bounty and private enterprise alone—are facts, utterly unknown to the great mass of our people, yet as unquestionable as the existence of London, or as the events of the American Revolution.

With these facts in view, no reflecting mind can doubt, that the colony must succeed. It will present, every year, ample accommodations and more resistless attractions to our free coloured people. The daily decrease in the cost of transportation, will soon enable thousands, annually, to emigrate. They will prefer a land where wealth and social dignity, and all the natural rewards of merit, await them, to one where, whatever their talents and virtues, their inevitable lot is hopeless and perpetual degradation. They will flock to Africa: they will fill, they will regenerate it.

One of the most important duties of the Society obviously is, to diffuse widely a knowledge of the facts, which commend the colony to public favour. The whites should be enlightened on the subject, that they may speed on the work: the free people of colour, that they may willingly and joyfully embrace that bettered condition, which is offered them in the clime of their ancestors. How strenuously diligent should each member of our little association be, in shedding this benign light upon the darkened minds of her country!—in amassing information, in explaining the merits of the cause; in circulating pamphlets and documents that may exhibit those merits justly; and in stimulating her friends to study them!

Perhaps the greatest present want of the colony, is the want of *usefully instructed citizens*. Education, vital to every free community, is peculiarly so to Liberia, from the the very natural deficiencies under which its people have heretofore labored. The laws of Virginia forbid the teaching of free coloured persons to read and write: but means might be adopted to promote their instruction after landing in Liberia: and owners, who design to manumit for deportation, should be made sensible how important it is to fit the mind for freedom, before that otherwise dangerous boon is conferred.

With these views of the importance of Education, the Board of Managers would beg leave respectfully to recommend a change in the character and objects of the Society—Devolving upon the National and State societies the duty of removing emigrants to Africa, they would suggest the propriety of confining the exertions of this association to the specific object of *encouraging Female Education in the Colony of Liberia*. The Managers do not think it necessary to dilate here upon the importance, in every point of view, of the blessings of education in the early stages of a colony such as Liberia, nor of the benign influences likely to be dispensed by

well educated females in every community. They think these are apparent to every mind. Much has been done in promoting female education in the colony, by societies in Richmond, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere—With these we might co-operate.—The most enlightened friends of Colonization highly approve of this diversion of funds from the general coffers of the society, to the specific object of education in Liberia, and it would seem to us that it is peculiarly befitting our sex to be thus engaged.

To assist in the regeneration of one continent and the amelioration of another, are the noble ends before us. Yet noble as they are, the means of attaining them, happily, do not wholly disdain female co-operation. Gentleness, persuasion, self-denial, industry, and perseverance, are chief implements of the work: and who will say that to employ these is unfeminine? Let us, without overstepping the sphere of our sex, exert the faculties which Providence has for good purposes bestowed. Woman may not, indeed, thunder in the Senate, or declaim in popular assemblies: but at the fireside, no decorum forbids her to plead with tongue and pen, the cause of bleeding humanity and justice.—Her exertions there, may enlist that eloquence, which custom permits to challenge and captivate the public ear. In this great cause, she may effect much by direct efforts; by an intermediate agency, she may accomplish more; and may share largely of the benedictions which two continents will probably one day outpour upon the early advocates of African Colonization.

In pursuance of the suggestions of the Board of Managers, the Society, at its meeting on the 4th July, 1834, determined to assume the character of a Female African Education Society—the objects of which should be the promotion of female Education in the Colony of Liberia.

[From the Geneva (N. Y.) Gazette, July 9th.]

At a meeting of the Young Men of Geneva, held for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society, J. W. STANSBURY was called to the chair, and J. W. TILLMAN appointed secretary.

The objects of the Society were briefly stated; and on motion,

Resolved, That we do form ourselves into a Colonization Society, auxiliary to the New York State Colonization Society.

Messrs. S. M. Hopkins, Webster, Butler, Dixon, Dox, Sill, Bronson and Greves were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for the Society, and report at the next meeting.

Messrs. S. Hopkins, Hamlin, Handy, Dox, and Dixon, were appointed a committee to prepare and report resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting.

Adjourned to meet on Monday evening, 30th June.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, J. W. Stansbury in the chair.

Mr. S. Hopkins from the committee, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the plan of colonizing the free colored population of our country, presents the only safe and practicable means of elevating them to a proper place among the members of the human family.

Resolved, That while we sincerely deprecate the existence of slavery in our land, we confidently apprehend that immediate and universal emancipation would prove disastrous to the liberated slave, and seriously interrupt the harmony of our federal union.

Resolved, That, although the extinction of slavery in our land is a consummation ardently to be desired by every patriot, we entirely disclaim any legal right whatever, to interfere in the subject of slavery, and desire to work only through the influence of moral suasion.

Resolved, That the political emancipation of the colored population of our country, presents one of the most interesting and important considerations for the deliberation of our enlightened people, and that the elevation of their moral and intellectual character, unfolds one of the noblest fields for philanthropic enterprise.

Resolved, That the ancient and deep-rooted prejudices existing throughout our country, and several radical distinctions of character, interpose invincible barriers to the political and social amalgamation of the colored with the white population.

Resolved, That the voluntary emigration of the free colored population of our country to the land of their fathers, is calculated to exert a most happy influence, in elevating them in the scale of rational beings; in checking the enormities of the slave trade, and in introducing civilization and christianity among the barbarous tribes of Africa.

Mr. Dixon from the committee, presented a constitution, which was adopted.

The following persons were then elected officers of the Society:

SAM'L M. HOPKINS, *President*.
WILLIAM MILFORD, *1st V. President*.
JAMES W. STANSBURY, *2d* "
JAS. W. TILLMAN, *Rec. Secretary*.
CHARLES BUTLER, *Cor. Secretary*.
E. K. BLYTH, *Treasurer*.

HORACE WEBSTER, WM. E. SILL, JOHN GREVES, P. M. DOX, L. W. HAMLIN, Board of Directors.

On motion of Mr. C. Butler,

Resolved, That the Board of Directors be requested to confer with the different clergymen of this village, upon the propriety of presenting the subject of colonization to their respective congregations, and taking up a collection in aid of the objects of the Society.

Resolved, That the Board of Directors be instructed to call a special meeting of the society on the evening preceding the commencement of Geneva College, and to appoint a person to deliver an address on that occasion. Adjourned.

Published by order of the Board of Directors.

J. W. STANSBURY, *Ch'n*.
J. W. TILLMAN, *Sec'y*.

From the Christian Intelligencer.

COLONIZATION MEETING.

Catskill, 22d July, 1834.

MESSRS. EDITORS.—As we believe that the promotion of the Colonization Society is the only feasible method of benefiting the colored population of our country, and of preserving the community from the horrors consequent on the excitement of popular indignation respecting the subject of abolition—we are very happy to communicate some account of a Colonization Meeting held in this place last evening.

This was an adjourned Meeting from a former one a fortnight since. Dr. Porter was called to the chair, and Rev. Mr. Owen opened with prayer.

The following resolutions were moved and carried without a dissenting voice.

Resolved, That the apathy of the community to the interests of the Colonization Society is deeply to be deplored and portentous of evil.

Resolved, That the Colonization Society is a generous, rational, and practicable expedient to do good to the coloured population of the United States, and has redeemed its pledges as far as the period of its existence could lead us to expect.

Resolved, That any past mistakes in the management of the Colonization Society constitute no reason why efficient pecuniary aid should now be withheld.

Resolved, That while this meeting entirely condemns the riotous proceedings directed against the abolitionists in N. York, and elsewhere; yet we perceive in these acts the anticipated and legitimate results of the Abolition scheme.

Resolved, That Messrs. Dr. Haugland, and Maltby Sayre, be a committee to solicit from our citizens subscriptions in favour of the Colonization Society.

These Resolutions were supported by appropriate and energetic addresses, by Rev. Messrs. Smith, Van Liew, and Wyckoff, and Francis Sayre, Esq. In the course of the meeting, the reply to Dr. Cox's letter contained in the June number of the Repository, was read with great acceptance. No doubt public opinion among us is greatly strengthened in favor of Colonization, by recent events.

Yours,

PHILO AFRICANUS 2D.

PREACHING TO SLAVES.

We are informed that Mr. Van Rensselaer [son of Hon. S. Van Rensselaer of Albany,] has preached to the slaves at more than 20 different places in Halifax, and that he has been sustained and encouraged in these labors, by the proprietors of the largest plantations and the most respectable citizens of that county. The estimation in which his labors are held, wherever he is known, is of

itself a refutation of the remark which good men sometimes countenance,—that “northern ministers will not be received by the people, or cannot be useful at the South.” This remark, in the unqualified manner in which it is sometimes uttered, implies a slander on the intelligence and character of the southern people, which we consider very unjust. It takes it for granted that the people are so fully under the dominion of local prejudices and have so little liberality and discrimination in their estimates of character, that the fact that a man was born or educated north of the Potomac, is a sufficient reason for them to exclude him from their Society, or at least to refuse him admission to spheres of usefulness where his services are greatly needed. The imputation of such a prejudice to the southern people *en masse*, is very unjust.—There may be some narrow minded souls of this sort in every parallel of latitude—but this is not the character of the enlightened christian community, and of intelligent citizens generally in the southern States. Let northern men possess the principles, spirit, and character, which Mr. V. R. has manifested, and they will be well received by respectable citizens as soon as their character shall be known.—*Richmond Tel.*

[From Poulson's Daily Advertiser.]
LIBERIA.

We rejoice to notice that each arrival from the Colony affords new proofs of the benefits conferred on long-suffering Africa by the wise and philanthropic labors of the American Colonization Society. The following extract from the letter of an old and highly respectable colored colonist, to a gentleman of Philadelphia, will, we are sure, gratify the friends of the cause:

“Our new and excellent Governor (PINNEY) is quite indefatigable in his labors to push forward the interests of the Colony, and strongly reminds us of the sainted Ashmun. He has determined upon and taken measures to re-establish a public farm near Caldwell, on the plan of Mr. Ashmun, where all idle persons and vagrants may be placed. Many persons are going to farming, and I am within bounds when I say that three times the quantity of ground will be put under cultivation this season, over any preceding year.”

Of that admirable lady, Mrs. SANSOM, whose inestimable labors in planting Schools in Africa, are but too little known and appreciated, he says:

“I am happy to inform you, that the Schools supported by the Ladies of Philadelphia, continue to exert the most beneficial influence on our rising generation, and many will live to bless the name of BEULAH SANSOM. We had an exhibition of

BETH THOMPSON'S School in the Methodist Meeting House, and I cannot express the great interest felt on the occasion. Our warehouses were shut up, so that all might attend. It was very largely attended, although each had to pay 12 1-2 cents. M^r. EDEN, at New Georgia, among the re-captured Africans, is doing well.”

We understand that the Ladies' Society intend very shortly establishing a Manual Labour School, under the charge of a highly respectable friend and his wife, in the new Colony of Pennsylvania, founded by the Young Men's Colonization Society, at Bassa Cove, and as their funds are inadequate for meeting the heavy expenditure of their extended benevolence, we hope they will be remembered and patronized by some of our affluent citizens.

DEFERRED ARTICLES.

The following Letter and Resolution were expected to appear in former numbers of the Repository, but were casually omitted:—

[From the N. Y. Spectator, June 2d.]

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following gratifying letter with its enclosure, was received on Saturday:—

NEW YORK, May 31, 1834.

Dear Sir—In presenting this 100 dollars permit me to state the following circumstance:—About a week since, a person called on me, and stated that, in May, 1826, he came to my office and exchanged some money, and he thinks he received a hundred dollars more than he was entitled to, and that he called several days after to see if our cash indicated such a mistake, but that the clerk did not ascertain certainly that this was the case. He hesitated some about returning it, and yet felt unwilling to retain it. I inquired if under the circumstances he would feel satisfied to have the amount presented to the Colonization Society, to which he replied yes. This therefore, is cheerfully given in the hope that it may aid the good cause in which your society is engaged.

I am yours,

RUFUS L. NEVINS.

COLONIZATION SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held July 22,

It was resolved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and ascertain what free persons of color sustained injury in their persons or property during the late riots in this city, with power to collect subscriptions for their benefit, and apply the same to their

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society in the month of September, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

John S. Walton, New Orleans,	100
<i>Collections from Churches.</i>	
Accomac and Northampton counties, Va.—from three Methodist Episcopal congregations, received from James A. Massey,	\$8 65
Do from Mr. Massey and another friend,	1 35
Alexandria, at the 1st Presbyterian church, by Rev. Elias Harrison,	15 5
do at the 2nd do	6 5
do at the Baptist church, by Rev. S. Cornelius,	8 25
Bath, New Hampshire, by Rev. D. Sutherland,	5
Belmont county, Ohio, Crab Apple Congregation, by Rev. J. Coon,	12 51
Creagerstown, Maryland, by Mr. Mettane,	2 50
Cross Creek, Jefferson county, Ohio, St. James's church, by Rev. J. Morse,	5
Danby, Tompkins county, N. Y. New Jerusalem church, by Rev. Lewis Beers,	6
*Indianapolis, Presbyterian church, by Rev. W. A. Halliday,	20 81
* do Methodist do by Rev. Calvin Ruter,	15 2
Lawrence Presbyterian church, by Rev. Henry Axtell,	8 50
Lebanon, Alleghany county, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. T. D. Baird,	5
Lee, Massachusetts, in Rev. Joshua N. Danforth's church,	25
Maryland, by Rev. William Matchett,	30
Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland, by Rev. A. O. Patterson,	10
New Hackensack, N. Y. Reformed Dutch church, by Rev. C. Van Cleef,	16
Norfolk, in the Presbyterian church,	65 90
Petersburg, in the Methodist do, 1833,	20
Richland, Pa. by Rev. John Glenn,	5
Sawickly congregation, Pa. by Rev. A. O. Patterson,	7 50
Slippery Rock, Pa. congregation, do do	5
Trenton, N. J.—in the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Rev. T. J. Thompson,	7
Windham, Ohio, by Rev. Wm. Hanford,	6
Winchester, at the Episcopal Church, by Rev. James Jackson,	12 67
Xenia, Ohio, in the congregation of Rev. Andrew W. Poage,	13
—, —, in the Associate congregation of Rev. Andrew Herron,	7

Donation.

From Miss E. R. Winter, Alexandria,	2
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Auxiliary Societies.

Indiana Colonization Society,	4 17
Xenia Female do, by Miss Mary Martin, Treasurer,	60
In the receipts from Auxiliary Societies, published in the August No. of the Repository, for "Crawford county, Va. \$30," read "Crawford county, Pennsylvania, \$30."	

African Repository.

Allen Leeper, Farmington, Tenn. per H. D. King,	5
C. Goodrich,	2 50
Collections made in Ohio, last year, by the Rev. F. W. Thomas, Agent, not before acknowledged:	
1833.	
September 23, At a meeting in Dr. Beecher's Presbyterian church,	15 1
October 1, After delivering a Literary Lecture,	14
11, At a meeting in Lebanon, \$5—17th & 20th, in Dayton, \$27 43,	32 43
25, Received from Rev. Franklin Putnam, of the Presbyterian church, for a 4th July collection,	15
do from Dayton Juvenile Colonization Society,	5
28, At a meeting at Zanesville,	15
November 5, At do at Springfield,	13 75
Donation from E. H. Cumming,	1
From Rev. J. S. Galloway, Pres'n church, for 4th July coll'n,	5 80
9 & 11, At a meeting in the Methodist church at Urbana,	15 16
From the members of a new Auxiliary Society,	7 25
From Adam Musgrove, Tr. of the old do, a balance on hand of	17
After an Address in the State-House at Columbus,	19
In hopes of raising funds for the Society, Mr. T. announced a course of Literary Lectures, and obtained 35 names at \$1 each, which he delivered,	35
Mr. T. received the following sums, 4th of July collections:	
Rev. J. Wilson, Cincinnati,	11 50
Andrew S. Morrison, Unity church,	2 75
From the same at Palmyra, \$2 75—from the same \$8 61,	11 36

** The same gentlemen collected at these churches last year \$75, which was acknowledged in the Repository, as received in a draft from Isaac Coe, without any other specification.

Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

"Resolved, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

"Resolved, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

"Resolved, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

"Resolved, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

"Resolved, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which may annually take up a collection for the Society."

NOTICE.

It is requested that all collections, donations, or subscriptions to the American Colonization Society, be transmitted by mail, if no private opportunity offers, to JOSEPH GALES, Sen'r. Esq. Treasurer of the Society, Washington City; with whom the collecting Agents of the Society will also correspond. With the collections in the churches, the Society expects to receive the names of the Clergymen of the several congregations in which they were made.

All communications, relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to JAMES C. DUNN, Washington, D. C.

Agents for the African Repository.

Alexander R. Plumley, Travelling Agent	MARYLAND.
James Daniel, do.	Samuel Young, Baltimore,
NEW-YORK.	Rev. W. W. Wallace,
Dr. Stevens, Colonial Office, N. Y. City.	Dr. Ely Ayres,
Ebenezer Watson, Albany,	NORTH CAROLINA.
Tappan Townsend, Quaker Springs,	John C. Ehrlinghaus, Elizabeth City,
PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia.	Nathan Winslow, Newby's Bridge,
John K. Morris, 146 Chesnut st.	GEORGIA.
MAINE.	Rev. D. Baker, Savannah,
Rev. Asa Cummings, Portland,	MISSISSIPPI.
J. Holway, West Machias,	Rev. Wm. Winans, Centreville.
MASSACHUSETTS.	INDIANA.
Pierce and Parker, Boston,	Harvy Scribner, New Albany,
Dorr and Howland, Worcester,	OHIO.
Elihu Hobart, Abington,	R. S. Finley, Cincinnati.
CONNECTICUT.	E. & B. G. Easton,
D. F. Robinson and Co. Hartford,	John E. Finley,
H. Howe, New Haven,	Dr. B. O. Carpenter, Bainbridge,
Rev. Joseph Whittlesey, Stonington,	Dr. Job Haines, Dayton,
NEW JERSEY.	KENTUCKY.
John Kenney, Jr. Belvidere,	John W. Anderson, Hopkinsville
VIRGINIA.	Rev George Light, Lexington,
Robert Hill, King William county,	Rev. H. B. Bascom,
Richard Worthington, Charlestown,	Rev. O. S. Hinckley,
Benjamin Brand, Richmond.	

The African Repository

Can now be had, from its commencement, on application to the
Publisher, or Mr. John Kennedy, Washington City, either bound
or in numbers; several numbers having been reprinted.

Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

This Gentleman has proposed to raise \$100,000, for the Society, in ten years,
by securing 100 subscribers, who will pay \$100 annually, during that time. The
following have already subscribed.

Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, New York.
Jasper Corning, Charleston, S. Carolina.
Theodore Frelinghuysen, Newark, New Jersey.
John T. Norton, Albany, New York.
E. F. Backus, New Haven, Connecticut.
A Gentleman in Mississippi.
Matthew Carey, Philadelphia.
Wm. Crane, Richmond, Va.
Fleming James, do.
A Friend in Virginia.
Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Massachusetts.
Mrs. M. H. Carrington, Mrs. Ann Fontaine, } \$100 annually by
Wm. A. Carrington, P. S. Carrington, } equal contributions.
Gen. Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington.
A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier County, Va.
Robert Ralston, Philadelphia.
Elliot Cresson, do.
Robert Gilnor, Baltimore.
George Burwell, Frederick County, Va.
Association of 20 persons in Rev. Dr. Mead's parish, Frederick co., Va.
Hon. Edward M'Gehee, Mississippi.
Rev. Dr. James P. Thomas, Louisiana.
Four young Gentlemen in Alexandria, D. C.
The Auxiliary Col. Society of Georgetown, D. C.
A Friend in Fredericktown, Md.
Another Subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith, in Bishop Mead's Con-
gregation, Frederick County, Va.
John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.
Solomon Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.
Cortland Van Rensselaer, Albany, N. Y.
Female Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.
Gen. John Hartwell Cocke, of Va.
Thomas Buffington, Guyandott, Va.
Judge Burnett, of Ohio.
Nicholas Brown, Providence, R. I.
An association of Gentlemen in Kenhawa co. Va.
Jacob Towson, of Williamsport, Md.
E. C. Delvan, Albany, N. Y.
Thomas C. Upham, Brunswick, Me.
Hon. Thomas Emerson, Windsor, Vt.
Judge Porter, New Orleans.
Judge Workman, do.
John McDonogh, do.
Auxiliary Colonization Society, of Wilmington, Delaware.
Hon. John Ker, of Louisiana.
John Linton, of do.
D. I. Burr, Richmond, Va.
Auxiliary Colonization Society, Hampshire County, Massachusetts.
Thomas Napier, Northampton, Massachusetts.
John S. Walton, of New Orleans.
Auxiliary Colonization Society of Portland, Maine.
Auxiliary Society of Essex county, N. Jersey.
Archibald McIntyre, New York.
Presbytery of Mississippi.
Rev. Charles W. Andrews, Fairfax County, Va.